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"Americanism" Thomas P. Neill, Ph. D.

St. Louis University

NTIL quite recently Americanism, that liberal movement within the Church in the last decade of the nineteenth century, was shelved as a topic too dangerous for discussion. American Catholics were embarrassed by being accused abroad of heretical opinions they never held, and it was felt best to let the question settle quietly into oblivion. The Catholic Encyclopedia, the first volume of which appeared in 1907, cleverly avoided a discussion of Americanism by referring the reader to "Testem Benevolentiae," the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on "True and False Americanism." Father Raymond Corrigan's The Church and the Nineteenth Century (1938) devotes a few pages to the subject, as does Father James M. Gillis in The Paulists. But the fullest accounts are still to be found in Allen Wills's Gibbons and Zwierlein's McQuaid, and most particularly in Father Water Elliott's Life of Father Hecker.

Theodore Maynard's The Story of American Catholicism, published several years ago, however, devotes a chapter to "The American Heresy". Moreover, the renewed interest now shown in Father Issac Hecker, the father of Americanism, is sure to evoke further discussion on the subject. In 1939 Vincent F. Holden completed his study, The Early Years of Issac Thomas Hecker (1819-1844).1 which is intended as prefatory to a full documentary work on his life. Katherine Burton has just written a biography on Father Hecker. These new studies should do much to clear the name of a great man whose memory was clouded by the controversy on Americanism which followed the publication of his first biography by the Paulist Father Elliott.

Americanism, paradoxically, reached its crisis in France following the translation of Elliott's Life of Father Hecker by the young and liberal Abbé Klein² in 1897. This translation, or more exactly mistranslation,³ of Father Elliott's book became the storm center around which the battle of Americanism raged for two years. Attacks on this "American heresy" were bitterest in France, being led chiefly by the Abbé Charles Maignen in a series of articles appearing in the Verité français and later gathered into a book entitled Le P. Hecker est-il un saint? Defenses of Americanism were offered by other members of the French clergy, notably the abbés Klein, Naudet, Lemire, Quievreus, Captier, Gondal, and Boeglin, and by such distinguished laymen as Georges Goyau and Georges Fonsegrive. Catholic periodicals of France lined up on one side or the other of the controversy, Verité leading the attack, while Univers and Vie Catholique were the outstanding supporters of Americanism. Thus Americanism in France became a continuation, under different terminology, of the struggle between the liberal and the conservative groups of the French clergy, the struggle begun early in the century by Lammenais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert.

Nevertheless, a liberal movement had taken root and had been growing in America during the latter half of the nineteenth century and had attracted the attention

² Abbé Klein, who was still alive as this was being written, fully recarted whatever heresy he may have taught when Pope Leo's encyclical was published.

³ In his encyclical on "True and False Americanism" (Testem Benevolentiae) Pope Leo XIII states that the occasion of the letter is the controversy over the Life of Father Hecker, "chiefly through the action of those who have undertaken to publish and interpret it in a foreign language." interpret it in a foreign language."

¹ The Catholic University of America, Studies in American Church History, Vol. XXIX.

of the European clergy several decades before Abbé Klein's translation of The Life of Father Hecker. Hence this new crisis came quite naturally to be identified with America and with the "American character."4

Definition of Americanism

An objective definition, or even an adequate description, of Americanism is almost impossible. Like all other isms its content differed from year to year and connoted different things to different individuals. Deshayes insists that it is a vague term which escapes the "rigeurs de la définition."5 It is not a doctrinal system, he points out, with arguments and conclusions. Rather it is "an ensemble of disparate naturalistic and liberal aspirations more to be condemned in the practical realm of action than in the theoretical domain of ideas." He goes on to analyze this "ensemble of disparate naturalistic and liberal aspirations" and concludes that Americanism contains seven main points: 1) insistence on adapting Catholicism to the modern world, especially in trying to win converts from Protestantism by stressing the similarities between the two and minimizing the points of difference; 2) extension of individual liberty; 3) belief that liberty of thought should be encouraged, insofar, as it is no longer a danger to the Church since the question of papal infallibility has been settled once and for all by the Vatican Council of 1870; 4) a concurrent belief that the Holy Ghost, by His operation in the individual soul, will protect it from error; 5) an exaltation of the natural virtues; 6) a division of virtues into "active" and "passive", with a glorification of the former and a disparagement of the latter; 7) an attack on the vows of religious orders as being contrary to the modern spirit of freedom demanded for religious activity in the modern

Abbé Charles Maignen, of the Fréres de Saint-VincentdePaul, makes the bitterest attack on Americanism seeing in it an attempt to effect a coup d'état in the Church and to revolutionize its teachings. concludes that "Americanism may be fairly considered one of the greatest dangers that threaten the Church," for "dogma is at stake . . . faith is in peril."6

Perhaps more representative of those who attacked Americanism in France is the Jesuit Hippolyte Martin who agrees in the main with Maignen's attack. His viewpoint, though still highly French, is not as narrow as is Maignen's "Pour notre part," Martin confesses. "l'américanisme nous avait jusqu'ici paru quelque peu ridicule." For Americanism sought to Anglicize the French. And, "without saying that we are perfect . . . we believe we have a better national character than any other country."8 Martin allows that Americanism's methods might be both permissible and advisable in America, but because of the difference in relationship between the State and Church in France they cannot be applied to that country.

8 Ibid. p. 214

But Americanism, he states, has passed from the purely political field into that of religion and doctrine. And thus it has become a danger for the Church and must be combatted as an incipient heresy.9 Its characteristics can be listed as six-fold: 1) Americanists are bereft of modesty and have complete self-confidence in American institutions and American methods. Moreover, they exhibit vanity in wishing to substitute Anglo-Saxon leadership for Latin. 2) They have little esteem for the supernatural, stressing natural virtues as they do. As a result, they listen to earthly needs rather than to the voice of God, and great saints never did that. 3) They are Modernist in a vague sort of way, but in a way that knows no limits, as is evidenced by the extremist stands of such men as Charbonnel and Romanus. 10 4) Americanists stress the Ecclesia discens rather than the Ecclesia docens. 5) They insist that the Church should follow American ideas and concentrate on morals rather than on dogma. 6) Finally, they condemn the religious life as being ill-adapted to the modern world. Consequently, Martin concludes, Americanism is substantially what Maignen claims it is — a heresy of particular danger to the Church in the 1890's.

There was at least some justification for Maignen and Martin to take so extreme and seemingly unfair a view of Americanism. For some French Catholics tended to use Americanism as a label for their Modernism¹¹ and to push the somewhat liberal opinions of Americanists to their logical conclusions. None of the Americans, and comparatively few of the Frenchmen, went to these

⁹ Martin's article is really a review and justification of Maignen's book. He admits that Maignen is too severe in some statements, but he concludes that since it is a "most naive, audacious and liberal illusion to hold that the Church can abandon her patrimony of the truth," Maignen's work is a "critical study of Americanism, serious, profound and complete . . . pitiless but just." (pp. (220-21) Moreover, "M. Charles Maignen a donc bien merité de l'orthodoxie et de la saine théologie, enramenant à leur juste valeur les prétentions de l'américanisme." (p. 223)

¹⁰ Martin regrets that Maignen should have found it necessary to include in his attack on Americanism the article "Liberal

to include in his attack on Americanism the article "Liberal Catholicism" in the Contemporary Review (Vol. 72, Dec., 1897, pp. 854-66). This article, signed by Romanus," is a disrespectful and smart-aleck liberalist attack on the Church. Martin, however, justifies Maignen by insisting that the resemblance between this article and the teachings of Americanists is decisive. It is this author's opinion that the similarities are mere surface likenesses, insofar as both insist that the Church must adapt her mission to the modern world. But "Romanus," like many French Modernists, would have the Church change its dogmas and even the fundamental deposit of the faith to bring itself into harmony with modern evolution and other such current beliefs of liberalwith modern evolution and other such current beliefs of liberal-

with modern evolution and other such current beliefs of liberalism—all of which is vigorously denounced by American Catholics.
Furthermore, "Romanus" shows no respect for the authority of
the Church or for the person of the pope; Americans were all
highly respectful of both.

It is this author's opinion that "Romanus" was a clever opponent of any "liberal" movement within the Church, such as
Americanism. He discredited any such movement by the reductio
ad absurdum method. It is difficult to imagine any Catholic,
or even renegade Catholic writing such an article in the hope of
having it convince anyone of the validity of the stand "Romanus"
claims he is taking on behalf of Liberal Catholics.

11 Corrigan (The Church and the Nineteenth Century) describes the heretical Modernism condemned by the papacy thus:
"Whether the name is appropriate or not, the thing that was
called Modernism was a distillation of all or most of the mental
and moral poison of the nineteenth century. It was a 'synthesis and moral poison of the nineteenth century. It was a 'synthesis of all heresies' . . . It was a bad history, bad philosophy, bad theology. It distorted the idea of faith, dogma, the Church, Christ and God . . . In the summer of 1907 the masterly encyclical, Pascendi Gregis, provided a detailed analysis of this insidious attempt to bring the Church "into harmony with the modern mind." (pp. 284-85.) (Please turn to page sixteen)

⁴ Cf. Deshayes's "Americanisme" in the Dictionaire de Théologie Catholique (Vol. 1. cols. 1043-49) for one of the most penetrating brief treatments of this subject from the French point

Dp. cit., col. 1044
 Le P. Hecker est-il un saint? p. 275
 "Americanisme", Études (LXXVI, July 20, 1898, p. 214)

A Last Bid for Irish Freedom. 1829-1843 Richard H. Brenan, S. J.

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NOURTEEN years ago Ireland celebrated Daniel O'Connell's great success in winning Catholic Emancipation. O'Connell had won the religious freedom of his people and deserved well of his country. But the history of the Liberator does not end with Emancipation, for that was by no means his chief aim in life. Though a fervent Catholic, he gave precedence to the repeal of the Union between the English and Irish Parliaments, because he realized fully that if the Union were repealed all other blessings would follow in due course. He said himself that "he would be willing to purchase Repeal by the imposition of the Penal Code in all its unmitigated ferocity. This year we commemorate O'Connell's great failure, greater perhaps than his success of 1829. The year 1843 must be remembered as the outstanding year of O'Connell's life for during that year he ruled the people of Ireland, having more power over them than any monarch. Though he could have raised all Ireland to fight, he remained a pacifist, and could say of himself: "it is not by force, or violence, or turbulence that I shall achieve this victory, dear above all earthly considerations to my heart. No, perish the thought for ever. I will do it by legal and constitutional means, above all the electricity of public opinion and the moral combination of great men."

To what can we attribute O'Connell's failure to gain Repeal? Many causes, such as the obstacles he had to encounter, may be assigned, but O'Connell in his heyday could have overcome them all. Mr. O'Faolain. in The King of the Beggars points out to us the cause of this failure. O'Connell was essentially a man of the people; he could move the people and exploit the people for their own good. Thus he gained Emancipation, for only with the people could he have exerted the moral force he did against a reluctant British government. O'Connell never imagined that all was won with Emancipation. In a letter to Dr. McHale in 1830 he wrote: "I have done but little, however much I wish to do for Ireland. I think I may venture to hope that wish is sincere. I also hope that the time is arriving when more, much more, may be done for our long oppressed country." Though he saw all this, he made a great mistake for the next twelve or thirteen years, during which he devoted himself to an attempt to get something from a parliament which was not only tight-fisted, but now referred complacently to its altruistic act of granting Emancipation in '29, even though that concession was only given to prevent civil war. I might say that O'Connell failed to gain Repeal for Ireland because he went to England's parliament, where he had little backing, when he should have gone to the people of Ireland; with them behind him, King Dan could have exerted a moral force that would have told even on the smug and self-satisfied assembly which was little affected by his ardent appeals.

English Reluctance and Resistance

Ireland did not suddenly become prosperous after 1829. How could she become prosperous when no help towards her prosperity was given? Emancipation had been given grudgingly and with bad grace, especially on the part of the king, and the government did everything in its power to make this one concession as ineffectual as possible. A letter of Palmerston gives us some idea of Wellington's attitude towards the Catholic cause: "The Duke is fully resolved to remain minister; he found that he could not carry on the government without yielding the Catholic question, and he wisely surrendered that point." Knowing this, we are not surprised at a further remark of Palmerston on the government of his majesty's Catholic subjects: "I heard by accident the other day a strong proof how wholly the Duke's acquiescence to Catholic relief was a bending to necessity, and not to a change of opinion. . . . A Catholic gentleman applied to him lately to be placed on the commission of the peace, but though the man was perfectly respectable and a landed proprietor, the Duke refused him because he was a Catholic." Everything was done to make the act a dead letter as far as possible. Any time the act tried to show any signs of vitality it was promptly sat on. O'Connell himself was made to recontest his seat in the House of Commons, and when six Catholics were to take silk, he, incomparably the greatest barrister in the land, was deliberately passed over, while the miserable king George IV went so far as to insult him at a public levee. Emancipation, like all concessions wrung from an unwilling government, had the effect of making the people more conscious of their wrongs. The English parliament might say that the Irish were never satisfied, but that was not true. The Irish were satisfied to have Catholic Emancipation, but that was only the redress of one of many grievances which they had.

The disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders was a great blot on the bill. These poor people had been O'Connell's mainstay and the backbone of the popular movement. It was mainly on their votes that he had depended for his own election. Now he himself had sacrificed that backbone. At least some of the blame for this must fall on O'Connell, for he had said in 1828 that nothing would make him sacrifice their votes: "If any man dares to bring in a bill for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders the people ought to rebel, if they cannot otherwise succeed. Sooner then give up the forty-shilling freeholders I would rather go back to the Penal Code." The effect of the disfranchisement was to reduce the electorate to less than 10 per cent of what it had been, and the possibility of a strong Catholic party in Parliament was minimised.

Nothing was going property in Ireland. The Relief Bill might give some help to Catholics, but it was not yet operative. It was also hopelessly inadequate, as it did not and could not provide work for the destitute thousands who lived on the verge of starvation. What use was political relief to them when they had no food and had nothing but a miserable hut in which to live. When appealed to by some well-meaning Englishmen, Bishop Doyle (J. K. L.) replied, "I am tired of appealing to the religious feelings of men, who either have no employment, or labour during six days for five shillings. Men cannot exist in that state, and it is almost a benefit that they follow O'Connell, for if they did not they would rob and plunder, or destroy property, preferring death by the hands of the executioner to death by cold and hunger." But England remained indifferent, and culpably ignorant of Ireland's distress, and Mrs. Oliphant could write: "It is sadly and curiously characteristic of Ireland, that all the great reforms for which she has agitated have been found immediately after their attainment, to be just what she did not want and to have done little for her."

Irish State of Affairs

The year 1832 saw the anti-tithe riots at their height. The police, sometimes headed by Protestant clergymen, shot down the unfortunate people who resisted the unjust impositions of the alien church, while O'Connell strove for their liberation at Westminster. Though the hope of Repeal never really left O'Connell's mind during his parliamentry period, he at times lost sight of it to the extent of being prepared to accept terms.

In 1833, four years after Catholic Emancipation, there was "no Catholic judge or stipendary magistrate in Ireland. All the high sheriffs, with one exception, the overwhelming majority of the unpaid magistrates and that of the grand jurors, the five inspectors-general, and the thirty-two inspectors of police were Protestants, while the chief towns were in the hands of narrow, corrupt, and for the most part intensely bigoted corporations." writes Lecky, a Protestant historian, of this year 1833. In his speech before the passing of the Coercion Bill of the same year, O'Connell called the house to remember that the Union "had never conferred a single blessing upon the country; that she knows nothing of you but by distress, forfeitures and confiscations; that you have never visited her but in anger; that the sword of desolation has as often swept over her as when Cromwell sent his 80,000 to perish; that you have burdened her with grinding Penal laws despite the faith of treaties, and you have neglected to fulfil the promises you made her . . . We know you yet in our sufferings and our wrongs, and you now give us as a boon, this Act, which deprives us of trial by jury and substitutes courtsmartial; which deprives us of the Habeas Corpus Act, and, in a word, imposes on a person the necessity of proving himself innocent. That Act, you tell us, will put down the agitation for the Repeal of the Union." O'Connell opposed the Coercion Bill furiously. He did not mince his words, and the Whigs were the special object of his attack; "You have brains of lead, hearts of stone, and fangs of iron," he told them, but he might have done better if he had stuck more doggedly to the Repeal agitation.

Growing Agitation

Of the period between '34 and '38, it is not necessary to say much, for it is filled with parliamentary squabbles in

which O'Connell played a great part. In 1838 he violently criticised the Irish Reform Bill. "The Irish Reform Bill" he said, "ought to have been more extensive; it was full of faults, . . . it exposed Ireland to all the machinations of the Spottiswoode gang, to pecuniary corruption in its worst form, and above all to the perjury of English and Scotch gentlemen. . . . But the time was come when this should be proclaimed boldly. I am ready to be a martyr to justice and truth, but not to false swearing; and therefore I repeat, there is foul perjury in the Tory committees of the House of Commons." O'Connell expected to be sent to the Tower for this, but instead the Tories decided to try to conciliate him, and offered him the Chief Baron's seat. Even though this office would have been pleasing to O'Connel he patriotically refused it. "This is very kind indeed," he said, "but I have not the least notion of taking the offer. Ireland could not spare me now. . . . I should enjoy this office exceedingly if I could accept it consistently with the interests of Ireland; but I cannot."

O'Connell's career in parliament was a failure, and he himself would hardly have denied it, for he said in a letter to Dr. McHale of July 1840 that the only method of securing Repeal was by agitation, and agitation on a bigger scale than ever before. A man of almost sixty, he founded the Repeal Association in April 1840. Despite a very disappointing start he threw himself into the movement with all his former zest. Soon he had roused the people from the comparative torpor into which they had fallen, during his parliamentary days. McHale gave him great encouragement in this great drive. "Never," he wrote to him in April '40, "since you embarked in the cause of your country and your religion, were your exertions more required in vindicating the interests of both." In November 1841 he was elected Lord Mayor of Dublin.

Final Attempt for Repeal

After his period as Lord Mayor (1842) O'Connell threw himself into the Repeal movement with all the fevour of his youth. His spirits rose with the enthusiasm he was arousing all over the country. At the beginning of 1843 he declared that this was to be the Repeal year. He wanted especially to get the support of non-Catholics in the movement. "I most ardently desired," he wrote, "to prevent the hurrying of the Repeal agitation so fast as not to give time for all classes of Irishmen to join us. All that is wanting is time. So soon as Protestants of all sects combine to obtain our legislative independence, the utmost cordiality will prevail, as in 1782, between all Irishmen, and we will make the mighty change with perfect safety to person and property," In February 1843 he introduced the subject of Repeal to the Dublin Corporation by a most conciliatory and moderate speech. As he had already won over very many of his opponents during his mayoralty, he had little difficulty in carrying a motion in favour of a petition for Repeal. Having thus prepared by this debate, he inaugurated the most striking series of political demonstrations ever known in Ireland. The idea was not altogether new, as there had been great outdoor meetings in 1840,

(Please turn to page twelve)

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EDITORIALS

A Meditation for Historians

Round about us the great guns boom and the little guns crackle, moving forts on caterpillar treads lumber along on their mission of death and destruction, forts that fly roar through the skies, other forts bristling with more agents of death ride the ocean waves. and little steel fish rove beneath seeking whom they may devour. Elsewhere are vast warehouses lined with containers of death in liquid and gaseous form. Everywhere machines and other things of equally inaminate nature surround us, creatures of man's brain and hand, creatures whose sole aim and purpose is to destroy, to cripple, to kill. Man, it is true, must find the range for the ordnance piece, true he must hold the wheel and pull the stick, true he must plot the course; but how insignificant he has become in comparison with the might of gear and cog and piston.

It is a strange world. And yet on second thought it is not so strange. Things do seem upside-down when man, the lord of the universe, is reduced to such insignificance, to such real slavery by the creatures of his making. And yet, to repeat, it may not be quite so strange.

Man has an understandable curiosity about those things he cannot see or feel or measure. The other world constantly intrigues his imagination. Perhaps, if he could only get some slight foretaste of the joys of heaven, the task of leading a life here below which would certainly merit the unending possession of such goods, would not be so hard. And man has the same curiosity and the same feeling in regard to the other alternative in eternity.

If man is alert today, he can, we feel, get some ideas, clear ideas regarding the unpleasant eternal half of the other world. The theologians tell us that, besides that terrible punishment which they call the damned creature's "pain of loss," there is yet another punishment, one which strikes closer home by means of the imagination, the "pain of sense." The creature, so we are told, which in life has in the sinner's warped hierarchy of values been put in place of God, that creature in hell will become the most relentless agent

of the torment of the damned soul—the glutton will know biting hunger, the proud, the depths of humiliation, and so on. The creature misused will avenge itself on the abuser.

Round about us today we have, if we are possessed of the vision to see, something of a proof of this confirmed opinion of the theologians and something of a preview of that reality called hell. We are engaged in a war of machines rather than of men. Not wishing to discount the necessity of personal valor and dash, we know that the decision is going to the group of nations which can devise the stoutest tanks, the fastest fighter-planes, the bomber with the longest range, and the warship with the deadliest fire power. Man will have to be there, but he is dwarfed by the machine, actually he has become both slave and victim. Something like hell, perhaps!

Not so many decades back men of the Western World came to feel themselves quite self-sufficient, not only to govern themselves but for all else besides. They came to consider themselves as lords of the universe in ways never intended by the Creator. They built a delusion into a conviction that their medieval and early modern forefathers had been vainly trying to solve life's problems with means utterly inadequate. Reason and Science, they told themselves, when properly used would eliminate any need of such medieval things as Revelation. Their devotion to Science soon became a cult. Before long Science itself had displaced God. To Science they paid their homage and in its name they denied Him to whom the newly discovered truths of Nature and the magnificent coordination of Nature's laws should have led. Here was a case of a creature being raised to a pedestal meant only for the Creator. The hierarchy of values was turned upside-down. Today the creature misused is avenging itself, shamelessly and piteously, on wilful misguided man.

Science has turned on its former devotee. Instead of easing the burdens of mortal existence, instead of contributing to life's prolongation and its fuller happiness, Science is taking man's life midst untold pain

and misery and suffering. Man is being treated to a preview of Hell's "pain of sense." The creature has become tormentor.

The scourge of war may thus turn out a blessing in disguise. Western Man may come to realize the bondage he has accepted in hearkening to the so-called "champions of progress." He has all around him more than ample evidence to convince himself of the warped and erroneous values which he so eagerly adopted in the nineteenth century and which, though he may not have recognized it at the moment, asked him to substitute creature for Creator. If he learns the lesson, if the preview of hell can keep him from the actuality, he will not have sweat and bled and wept in vain. The historian must help him to learn such a lesson.

Other Thoughts for Historians

A philosophy of history, which in recent centuries has drawn the caustic criticism of the self-styled scientific historians, is the one which for centuries was held in honor in the West, the philosophy of history which was predicated on the data of both Faith and Reason and which accepted such a thing behind the workings of the world as a Divine Providence. It was a philosophy of history which made sense out of men's actions when all others faltered in the attempt to probe the vagaries of facts and events. Western minds of no small consequence accepted Providence as a fact—the great Augustine, the scholarly Orosius, the courtly Bossuet, to mention only a few.

These men did not feel that they were prostituting Reason to Faith when they professed to see the great and oftentimes mysterious plan of God behind worldly happenings and events. Truth is one, so the men of the West in ages past contended. The truth of experience, of observation, of research cannot be true and at the same time be at variance with the truth which is based on the word and assurance of the all true God. The philosopher reasoned that an intelligent creator must have had a plan in the work of creation, and he concluded further that that plan had to extend beyond the initial act of bringing the world and man into existence. The theologian assured him that such was the case and turned to numerous divine assurances in the pages of the Scriptures as proof irrefutable. Western Man was satisfied and interpreted history accordingly.

But there came fateful times in the long life of Western Man when he was led to doubt old values. And times more fateful still followed, during which he was persuaded to reject them entirely. The scientists and pseudo-scientists offered new theories of everything, and history was not excluded. The modern philosophies came in droves. There were the evolutionists, the determinists of various stamps, the materialists, and a horde of others. Nothing beyond the measurable, the tangible, the strictly human documentary could have any influence in evaluating or interpreting the actions of men in the past.

Historians have seen their difficulties multiply as they threw off the presumably outmoded belief in a providence behind men's actions. In times like ours it is a baffling problem to make the pieces fit—the rape of inoffensive little Belgium, the debacle of supposedly unbeatable France, the success of irreligious Russia, and so on through dozens of other irreducible enigmas. In the lives of nations, as in the lives of individuals, the ways of Providence are not always easy to discover; but there is a fund of real assurance and of solid consolation in the firm conviction that behind it all there is a plan and that that plan is working toward man's good and benefit.

The Christian historian need not blush to mix his Faith with his history. Other men mix less worthy creeds with theirs and achieve no better results, and yet retain the doubtful reputation of scientific objectivity. By all means, lean on your documents and all the rest, but remember that data of research will not

always add up to the satisfying conclusion.

The Christian historian who builds his philosophy of history on his conviction of the existence of the providence of God is not relieved of the drudgery of research. Faith is not going to tell him what happened or when or who did it or for what motives; he must find that out for himself. He must uncover, to the best of his abilities, the reasons why nations tottered and empires fell, how institutions came into being, what made heroes and what prompted traitors, and all of that. But when he comes to an over-all interpretation, unless God and God's providential designs enter into the picture of the past, it will be incomplete, unsatisfying, and, it might be added, unreal, for such things as creation, the fall, redemption are realities which affect the lives of men in all ages and condition their actions.

The universality of the Roman Empire throughout the Mediterranean World and beyond has a relationship with the subsequent spread of Christianity which just did not happen by chance. The decline and fall of the imperial framework and the culture-pattern of Antiquity is not an unmixed evil when one considers how the way was prepared for the building of a new Western world on the foundation stones of revealed truth-of course, he who refuses to concede the inherent truth of Christianity will not agree. Nations have been and can be rewarded or punished for services or sins, as the case may be, just as individuals-France today in her sorry plight would seem to be a case in point. But all these views make sense in a scheme that is broader than anyone of man's concoction. No interaction of blind forces will give the full answer. Neither economics nor geography nor classclash will suffice, for man is something else before all these forces become operative and even while they operate he fits into a plan beyond their material scope.

Remember always that truth is one!

The Reverend John F. Bannon, Director of the Department of History of Saint Louis University, former Acting-Editor, has been appointed Editor of the Historical Bulletin. Joining him as Associate-Editor is the Reverend Joseph P. Donnelly.

Colonial Freedom of Conscience

William L. Lucey, S. J.

College of the Holy Cross

HARLES II returned to London in 1660, after the collapse of the Cromwellian experiment, with the hope of introducing liberty of conscience in England. What his policy would be, provided parliament cooperated, he made clear in the Declaration of Breda: we do declare a liberty of tender consciences and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulences for the full granting that indulgence.

An Anglican parliament, however, was unwilling to follow the king's program, and Charles, equally unwilling to start his travels over again, accepted the restoration of the Elizabethan settlement as provided for by the Act of Uniformity (1662). Parliament then proceeded to restrict the freedom of the Protestant Non-Conformists and Catholics by a series of acts, among them the Conventicle Act (1664), the Five-Mile Act (1665) and the Test Acts (1673 and 1678). When the exercise of the royal dispensing power threatened to circumvent the purpose of these acts, parliament questioned and then denied the validity of that power,—although parliament assumed that power itself without scruples after the Revolution of 1689.

But Charles had a free hand in the colonies, for they were under the crown, and the year after he had been thwarted at home he proceeded to introduce "liberty to tender consciences" in the Atlantic coastal plantations. At the same time, he forestalled parliamentary opposition by following a colonial policy, based on Mercantilism which had the hearty approval of the commercial and landed interests of the nation. Charles, moreover, was careful during his early years as king to avoid any opposition that might weaken the restored throne; accordingly, he did not force his desire on the older colonies unless it was acceptable, as in the case of Rhode Island. Maryland had already proven the possibility and wisdom of freedom of religion and was allowed to continue its own way. The new colonies, planted under charters and grants made by Charles, provided the best opportunity for introducing the new religious policy, and an examination of these charters and other colonial documents shows how far the king succeeded.

The Religious Policy in the Carolinas

On March 24, 1663, Charles granted the Carolinas to a group of friends. Four months later, the proprietors declared to prospective settlers that:2

We will grant, in as ample manner as the undertakers shall desire, freedom and liberty of conscience in all religious or spiritual things, and to be kept inviolably with them, we having power

Two years later, in 1665, the Carolinian proprietors received a new charter from the king, and in virtue of

1 The Declaration of Breda and the other acts referred to will be found in the valuable volume edited by Carl Stephenson and Frederick G. Marcham, Sources of English Constitutional History (New York, 1937), 532-557.

2 Francis N. Thorpe (ed.), The Federal and State Constitutions Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws (Washington, 1910), V 2755.

this new grant they published another declaration of agreements.

These two years had been busy ones in colonial affairs: Rhode Island received a charter (1663); James the king's brother and heir to the throne, was granted (1664) the land between the Delaware and Connecticut rivers; and James, in turn, presented (1664) his two friends, Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, with the land between the Hudson and Delaware rivers. The charters or fundamental laws of all these four plantations contained a clause safeguarding the freedom and liberty of conscience of the settlers. Besides, the clause was the same in content and strikingly similar in language. It was an improvement on the guaranty found in the first declaration of agreements issued by the Carolinian proprietors. Evidently, Charles and his assistants had been searching during these two years for a better expression of their religious policy; the repetition of the clause would indicate that they had found what they wanted.

The improved "freedom of conscience" clause was inserted in the second "Concessions and Agreements" of the Carolinian proprietors in 1665. It was now agreed:3

Carolinian proprietors in 1665. It was now agreed:³

That noe person or persons quallifyed as aforesaid [they must be subjects of and swear allegiance to the king and promise to be faithful to the proprietors] within the Province or all or any of the Countyes before exprest at any time shalbe anywayes molested punished disquieted or called in question for any differences in opinion or practice in matters of religous concernment whoe doe not actually disturbe the civill peace of the said proyince or Countyes byt that all and every such person and persons from [time] to time and at all times freely and fully have and enjoye his and their judgments and contiences in matters of religion throughout all the sd Province they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly and not using this Liberty to Lycentiousness nor to the Civill Injury or outwort disturbance of others, and Law statute or clause conteyned or to be conteyned usuage or custom of this realme of England to the contrary hereof in anywise notwithstanding.

This agreement, as the proprietors stated, was sup-

This agreement, as the proprietors stated, was supported by the two charters. Charles II had provided protection for the settlers who could not conform to the "ceremonies of the Church of England, or take and subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf."4 The Anglican Church was established in Carolina by the "Fundamental Constitutions" of 1669; at the same time, this fundamental law protected other religious groups, both Christian and Jews. Any seven or more persons, agreeing in any religion, was considered "a church," received legal recognition and enjoyed freedom of worship. Public support, however, was denied these churches; that was a privilege enjoyed only by the Church of England.5

Rhode Island

The inhabitants of Rhode Island had no fight with the religious policy of their king. They had already accepted the idea and welcomed its assertion in the charter granted by Charles in 1663. The fundamental law of this colony, in sharp contrast to the other New England

Thorpe, op. cit., V, 2757.
 For the provision in the two charters, Thorpe, op. cit., V, 2752, 2771.
⁵ Thorpe, op.cit., V, 2783-2784.

colonies, now provided:6

that noe person within the sayd colonye, at any tyme hereafter, shall bee any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinione in matters of religion, and doe not actually disturb the civil peace of our sayd colony; and doe not actually disturb the civill peace of our sayd colony; but that all and everye person and persons may, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, freelye and fullye have and enjoye his and theire owne judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments, throughout the tract of lande hereafter mentioned; they behaving themselves peaceablie and quietlie, and not useing this libertie to lycentiousnesse and profanenesse, nor to the civill injurye or outward disturbeance of others; any lawe, statute, or clause, therein contayned, or to bee contayned, usage or custome of this realme, to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding. hereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

There is little difference, as one can see, between this religious clause in the Rhode Island charter and the agreement of the Carolinian proprietors. The content is the same and the language is nearly identical. There was, however, one important difference between the charter of the two colonies, for Charles did not demand the establishment of the Anglican Church in Rhode Island. He was satisfied that the State Church of England be allowed to live freely in that colony.

New Jersey

New Jersey was the next colony to profit by this new colonial policy of Charles II. In 1664, the two proprietors began their search for colonists by publicizing "The Concession and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Caesarea, or New Jersey, to and with all and every the adventurers and all such as shall settle or plant there." Again, we find that:7

no person qualified as aforesaid within the said Province, at any time shall be any ways molested, punished, disquieted or called in question for any difference in opinion or practice in matter of religious concernments, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the said Province; but that all and every such person and persons may from time to time, and at all times, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments and consciences in matters of religion throughout the said Province they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using consciences in matters of religion throughout the said Province they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of theirs; any law, statute or clause contained, or to be contained, usuage or custom of this realm of England, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

The New Jersey proprietors have repeated, with a few omissions, the clause in the Rhode Island charter.

New York

The next year the Duke of York introduced freedom of religion into New York. Conditions there favored the policy; most of the settlers were of non-English origin and even those of English birth, migrants from New England, were hostile to the established church. The religious provision of "The Duke's Laws" removed a source of powerful opposition to the new administration of the colony. This law, approved February 28, 1665, guaranteed:8

That no congregation shall be disturbed in their private meetings, in the time of prayer, preaching, or other divine service; nor shall any person be molested, fined, or imprisoned, for differing in judgment in matters of religion, who professes Christianity. The Duke of York, however, was not an advocate of political freedom for the inhabitants of New York, and it required years of opposition and resistance to persuade him to authorize the first assembly. But New York had no complaint against the religious policy of the Duke, for the charter of liberties and privileges (1683) accepted

by that assembly reasserted:9 Thatt no person or persons, which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall at any time, be any ways molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference in opinion or matter of religious concernment, who do not actually disturb the civill peace of the Province, butt thatt all and every such person or persons may, from time, and at all times freely have and fully enjoy, his or their judgments or consciences in matters of religion throughout all the Province, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and nott using this liberty to Licentiousnesse, nor to the civill injury or outward disturbance of others. of others.

Pennsylvania

The year before the New York assembly drafted its charter, William Penn promulgated his "Frame of Government of Pennsylvania." Penn, a friend of Charles II and the Duke of York, was allowed to build a refuge for the Quakers according to his own plans. Freedom of conscience for Quakers and all other inhabitants of his plantation was one of his main concerns and he did not need any royal persuasion on this score. Yet Penn found the freedom of conscience clause inserted into the fundamental laws of the colonies planted under the Restored Stuarts quite sufficient to secure this desired objective. The thirty-fifth law of the "Frame of Government" stated:10

That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the One Almighty and enternal God, to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world; and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall, in no ways, be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion, or practice, in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever.

Only in Pennsylvania did the religious policy of Charles II survive the repercussions of the Revolution of 1689. It was indeed a tribute to Penn that freedom of conscience did survive, but at the same time it was a tribute to Charles. If he had had his way Pennsylvania would have been the rule, not the exception.

After the Revolution of 1689

The Revolution of 1689 abruptly ended the experiment in freedom of conscience. Thereafter, the Anglican Church was established or preferred by the royal governors and toleration was restricted to Protestants. The situation that prevailed until the War of Independence is fairly accurately told by the new charter (1691) of Massachusetts and by the instructions sent in 1692 to the governor of New York.

In Massachusetts, William and Mary ordained that "for ever hereafter there shall be a liberty of Conscience allowed in the Worship of God to all Christians (Except Papists) Inhabiting or which shall Inhabit or be Resident within our said Province or Territory."11 Whereas the governor of New York was instructed:12

to administer unto each of the members of the council as well the oaths appointed by act of parliament [oaths specified by the Bill of Rights (1689) which a Catholic could not take] And you are to permit a liberty of conscience to all persons, except papists, so they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offense or scandal to the

(Please turn to page fifteen)

⁶ Rhode Island Charter of 1663, Thorpe, op.cit., VI, 3213.

⁷ Thorpe, op.cit., V, 2537.

8 Hugh Hastings (ed.), Ecclesiastical Records State of New York (Albany, 1901), I, 572.

⁹ Ibid., II, 864.

¹⁰ Thorpe, op. cit., V, 3063.
11 Thorpe, op. cit., III, 1881.
12 The instructions to the New York governor may be found in Stephenson and Marcham, Sources of English Constitutional History, 646-648.

An Ancient Aggressor with Modern Methods Mary June McCue

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OST observers will agree that before the smashing Pearl Harbor attack of 1941 the majority of Americans were isolationists. They will further agree that the basis of this isolationism was the fact that Americans regarded themselves as geographically untouchable. Another important factor, however, has been for the most part overlooked. Americans isolated themselves not only physically from the rest of the material world, but spiritually from the world's experience. They ignored history. The question that immediately arises is, "where could a twentieth century democracy find a comparable country facing a comparable crisis?" We are forced by the nineteen century absence of democracy from the earth¹ to search among the ancient democracies. The antiquity of our example will detract nothing from its forcefulness. Four centuries before Christ a democracy faced a tyrant so similar to modern dictators in character and method that comparison produces an amazing parallelism. The democracy was Athens; the tyrant, Philip of Macedon.

Philip inherited a kingdom "rent by dynastic plots and feudal anarchy,"2 and his first task was to settle domestic difficulties so that he could begin foreign conquests. He, in common with modern dictators, found regimentation and increased centralization the answer to his problems.3 Probably the most remarkable feature of his reorganization was the modern way in which he reformed his military organization. Centuries before the advent of Nazi Panzer units, he realized that mobility was the most advantageous quality an army could possess, and therefore, he "planned out carefully the relation to one another not only of cavalry and infantry but of archers and all kinds of light-armed troops so that he had at his disposal many mobile elements which could be used in a great variety of ways."4 By this method he created the greatest military machine of his time, far superior to any his neighbors possessed. This machine was not created merely as a matter of local pride, however, as the ancient world soon found out. Countries adjoining Macedon were the first to see concrete evidence of its efficiency and to capitulate to Philip's demands.

Athens, separated by a comparatively great distance from Macedon, viewed Philip's growing military might with total unconcern. Therein Philip, as have modern aggressors, gained a distinct advantage. The complacent smugness of the democracy gave him valuable needed time to increase in strength with the possibility that the defendors of freedom might awake too late. Of course, clear-sighted statesmen saw the impending danger and attempted to arouse the people from their lethargy. The greatest of these was Demosthenes who stands out far beyond the others as the chief opponent of Philip and the greatest democratic statesman of all time. The logic with which Demosthenes pierced to the heart of the situaion, the oratorical fervor and skill with which he presented his solutions for combatting a tyrant have never been equalled. Nowhere can we see more clearly the relation of the Athenian crisis to modern times than in the speeches of Demosthenes, for in many cases his words could be applied to pre-Pearl Harbor America almost without change. He represents the eternal position of democracy. As he himself said, "That, then was my policy. I saw a man enslaving all mankind and I stood in his way. I never ceased warning you and admonishing you."5

The contest, then, resolved itself into the following: a mighty military machine on the one hand, pitted against indifferent unpreparedness on the other. The deciding factor was the ability or inability of Athenian statesmen who saw Philip's true intentions to arouse the people to action.

In the face of this, Philip decided in 358 B.C., as have modern aggressors, that fostering this indifference by lying promises was the game most likely to be successful. All this would serve as a screen for a quiet obtaining of raw materials and clever honeycombing of desired future conquests with fifth-columnist activities. Philip immediately laid siege and captured Amphipolis, an Athenian possession, the gate-way to the gold mines of Pangaeus. By promising Athens to exchange it for Pydna, he allayed her suspicions and became the possessor of an income of 1,000 gold talents a year. Strong Athenian action then would have averted trouble later. The opportunity, however, was lost. Demosthenes stated the Athenian attitude well when he said, "Unfortunately, we always neglect the present chance and imagine that the future will right itself . . ." How often have we and our allies, neglected the "present chance"! Athenians learned a bitter lesson of the folly of allowing dictators to gain valuable materials, but we had to learn the lesson all over again.

Another purpose of the soothing promises of peace and good intentions was to cover up fifth-columnist activities which were busily preparing many Greek cities for the slaughter. We are inclined to consider the fifth columnist at his most efficient as a rather modern invention, but Philip had his trained to perfection. In 349 B. C., with assurance of help by his agents from within, Philip attacked the Chalcidic League,8 preparatory to taking Olynthus itself. Olynthus frantically appealed to Athnes for aid. Demosthenes, true to his principles, urged that Athens respond. Notice how appropriate his words

¹ James Bryce, Modern Democracies, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), 165.
2 Trevor, History of Ancient Civilization, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936), I, 386.

⁴ Pickard-Cambridge, "The Rise of Macedonia", Cambridge Ancient History, VI, 206.

⁵ Demosthenes, De Corona, 63. Trans. by C. A. Cince and J. H. Vince. Half-Title: Loeb Classical Library. New York: G. B. Putnam's Sons, 1930.

⁶ Trever, op. cit., 387.

⁷ Demosthenes, First Olynthiac, 9. Trans. by J. H. Vince. Half-Title: Loeb Classical Library, New York: G. B. Putnam's Sons,

^{1930.} 8 Trever, op. cit., 390.

are for modern democracies facing aggressors. He describes Philip's true character, reminding them of the type of person they are dealing with, "In a word, he has hoodwinked everyone that has had dealing with him, he has played upon the folly of each party in turn and exploited their ignorance of his own character, that is how he has gained his power." He warns that his own country will be next in the face of isolationist opposition, 'But, my friend,' cries someone, 'he will not wish to attack us,' Nay, it would be a crowning absurdity if, having the power, he should lack the will to carry out that threat which today he utters at the risk of his reputation for sanity."10 He reminds them of the expensive game in which they squandered their interests one by one.11

But Philip's deceit had done its work too well. Athenian troops were sent off on a hopeless mission to Euboea when they should have been aiding their allies. In the meantime the Olynthian fifth-columnists, Euthycrates and Lastenes, were assuring their countrymen that Philip meant no harm. Philip then seized the port of Mecybeine and issued an ultimatum to Olynthus. Before an Athenian force could reach there from Euboea, traitors had betraved the Olynthian cavalry on the field and Olynthus had fallen, the first step in the capitulation of all Greece.

This all-important victory was accomplished by the modern method of lulling the democracies with false promises while attacking from within. This was not, however, the only modern method used by Philip with great success. He made use of the war of nerves at Thermopolae when he constantly threatened but never attacked during the summer months of 338, of appearement at the Peace of Philocrates where he gained concessions from vacillating democracies—all these were common tools with him. They were common tools in our time, too, and they should have been recognized by Americans and their allies for what they were. As Demosthenes said, "For wise men it is always the right time to understand history."12 We were not wise; we did not understand.

Perhaps the criticism may be made that it is a little far-fetched to expect a modern democracy to consider the experience of an Athenian city-state of any value. The present events have proven the folly of such an attitude. We have lived through practically the same experience as our Democratic "forefathers" because we refused to learn from them. Only the timely intervention of Pearl Harbor prevented us from reliving the final bitter chapter when Greek patriots saw the sun of Grecian independence set at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. and Philip emerge victorious. Consideration of the methods Philip used to defeat Athens illustrates that there is nothing new in the pattern for conquest. The wise believer in democracy, then, can turn to history, so that the experience of ancient democracies may be synthesized with that of the modern, and thus produce wiser, and stronger, democratic policies for the future.

Irish Freedom

(Continued from page six)

but these of 1843 were on a vast scale and were perfectly organized.1

Enthusiasm was growing everywhere, and the Repeal fund was steadily rising. Probably the climax was the great meeting at Tara on the Feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1843. As most of the meetings would have a merely local interest, this is the only one that needs to be commented on to any degree. Every vehicle in Dublin was said to have gone the fifty miles to Tara that day; bands played all along the way.

Tara of the kings was regarded by the people with awe and reverence, and O'Connell used every circumstance to help him. From the place where the ancient kings of Ireland had been crowned, he painted the future glories of the country. Thousands, hundreds of thousands were before him, and perfect silence and order reigned while he addressed the vast crowd of which only a fraction could possibly hear him.

In England there was growing anxiety about the Repeal agitation, especially as it was known that O'Connell knew the law too well to do anything illegal. In May, '43 Lord Jocelyn asked Peel if he was going to do anything about the agitation. Peel replied that he would like to, but that he did not see how he could, as the meetings were not illegal. He said, however, that if O'Connell could not be stopped under the present law, the law would be amended. O'Connell, as usual, had a reply ready for him: "We are told" he said, "that some desperate measures are to be taken for the suppression of public opinion upon the question of the Repeal. I will tell Peel where he may find a suggestion for his bill. In the American Congress for the district of Columbia they have passed a law that the House shall not receive any petitions on behalf of slaves, even though the petitioners be freemen! I shall send for a copy of that Act of the Columbian legislature, and send it to Peel, that he may take it as his model when he is framing his bill of Coercion of the Irish people. He shall go the full length of the Coercion bill if he stirs at all."

The eyes of Europe were on O'Connell by this time France had promised him help, and at least two European sovereigns asked for his autograph. One of them was refused. His position was unique; never had a popular agitator had such numbers behind him. He had roused the country from a state of indifference and lethargy and could truly say, "Grattan sat by the cradle of his country, and followed her hearse; it was left for me to sound the resurrection trumpet, and to show that she was not dead but sleeping." Though O'Connell was sincere when he said that "not for all the universe contains would I, in the struggle for what I conceive my country's cause, consent to the effusion of a single drop of blood, except my own;" yet he unconsciously, and the Young Irelanders consciously, were preparing the people for insurrection and armed revolt. At the monster meeting at Mullaghmast he recalled the massacre there by the English of earlier days; he spoke of the violated treaty of Limerick; of the Union, its exploitation by the

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<sup>Demosthenes, Second Olynthiac, 27.
Demosthenes, First Olynthiac, 21.
Demosthenes, First Olynthiac, 13.
Demosthenes, De Corona, 157.</sup>

Caroline Islands Dispute: 1885 Clarence A. Herbst, S. J., M. A.

Creighton University, Omaha

IN August, 1885, the gunboat Iltis raised the German flag over the island of Yap in the Carolines. These islands had long been considered Spanish. Feeling ran high in Madrid. The German Consulate was assaulted. Foreign war, it seemed, would be added to grave domestic difficulties. But King Alphonso was firm. He himself paid a good will visit to Germany. The Crown Prince came to Spain. Pope Leo XIII was asked to decide the dispute. Prince Bismarck and Senor Elduayen would wait for Rome's decision.

F. W. Christian thus describes the Carolines:

Spanish Micronesia (since 1899 no longer extant), according to the treaty made with Germany in 1885, lies between the Equatorial line on the south and the eleventh northern parallel, and between 139° and 170° E. longitude. The great island of New Guinea lies about 1000 miles to the southward. A long chain of 652 islands lie scattered over this wide stretch of sea, some 1400 miles in length. The inhabitants number some 50,000, a combination of the Black, the Brown, and the Yellow races. The Caroline archipelago contains thirty-six groups.¹

The famous Magellan sailed through Spanish Micronesia in 1521. On March 5 he discovered the Mariannes and named them the Ladrones. In 1526 Alonso de Salazar discovered one of the Marshall group. Two years later Alvaro de Saavedra discovered the Uluthi group and took possession for Spain. Others followed him and made fresh discoveries, the most important being Yap. In 1595 the sea-captain Quiros found Ngatik south of Ponape. In the times of Charles II of Spain (1686) a small island south of the Mariannes was called Carolina after the king. The whole group eventually took its name from this.²

Spanish Jesuit missionaries from the Philippines went to christianize the Mariannes, landing at Guam in 1668. They were wonderfully successful. The Philippines were also the source of missionaries for the Carolines, for Stirred to zeal by natives who at sea had been driven by adverse winds from the Pelew islands (on the western frontier of the Carolines, containing about 200 islands) to the Philippines (1696), and also encouraged by briefs issued by Clement XI (1705), Duberron and Cortil set out in 1710 to preach the Gospel in the West Caroline island group (Pelew islands), especially on Sonsoral; but they met with violence at the hands of the natives and perished miserably. Similarly, after the landing of Carolinians in Guam in 1731, Fathers Cantova and Walter preached throughout the same archipelago for four months, with negative results; and the former fell a victim to the lances of the natives on Magmog.³

The death of the missionaries was sometimes caused by the incompetence or cowardice of the captain in temporary command in those parts. The news of Father Cantova's death is the last we have of missionary endeavor on the islands. Soon came the suppression of

1 F. W. Christian, The Caroline Islands, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899, 17. This is really a book of travel but has a good brief historical sketch of the Carolines. It is detailed and excellent on topography, customs, etc. For a brief account with unnecessary details omitted of the secular and missionary history as well as the topography of the Islands, cf. Joseph Schwarz, S. J., "Die Karolinen" in Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, LVIII (1900), 186ff., 272ff.

2 Ibid., 23.
3 Joseph Schmidlin, Catholic Mission History, a Translation,

3 Joseph Schmidlin, Catholic Mission History, a Translation, edited by Matthias Braun, S.V.D., Techny, Illinois, Mission Press, S.V.D., 1933, 3. This is a scholarly work by one of the foremost missiologists.

the Society of Jesus and with it the end of its missions. Apostolic work was resumed there only when, by decree of Pope Leo XIII on May 15, 1886, the archipelago was assigned to the Spanish Capuchins.

Claims for Possession

Spain in 1885 claimed the Caroline Islands as hers on many titles. Spaniards had first gone there. Geographers had been assigning them to her. Their very name was of Spanish origin. Her apostolic men were missionaries there in times past, and more than once Spanish sovereigns had sent them. In 1706 Pope Clement XI praised Philip V for so well providing for the missionaries and exhorted him to persevere in cooperating in the salvation of so many souls. The same Pope asked Louis XIV of France to encourage his grandson to carry to successful issue what had been so auspiciously begun. Philip apportioned money annually for the carrying on of the missions in the Carolines. The natives acknowledged their indebtedness to the Spaniards.⁴

Still Germany urged her claims. She maintained that effectual occupation gave title to possession. She said that, bearing in mind certain recent occurrences, the law of nations indicated that legitimate authority over unoccupied lands grew out of occupation and use, and that as long as these two are absent lands are resnullius. Since for a century and a half Spain had laid no effectual claim to the islands, it seemed they ought now to belong to the one who first occupied them. Moreover, as recently as 1875, when in a similar case a dispute had arisen, both England and Germany had stated that they did not recognize the rights of Spain in the Carolines.⁵ In a contemporary statement we read: "Senor Elduayen virtually admits that no act of sovereignty had been performed before the present year." 6

So title to the Carolines was not clear. In a decade of race for overseas possessions and of booming German imperialism that fact was likely to cause trouble. The Spanish outburst over the Iltis affair is matched by the muffled threat of war in the note of Count Solms sent to the government at Madrid August 6, 1885. But it hardly seems probable that Bismarck was willing to start a conflict on a large scale over islands in the southern Pacific. The outburst in the Spanish capital was more violent than he had bargained for. Alphonso XIII did not want war either, Canovas was heading his precarious government with Sagasta of the opposition on the alert to capitalize for the Republican cause on any false move that might be made. The courts of Europe were nervous. They seemed to feel that "Prince Bismarck will not unnecessarily embarrass the Spanish government, but he will not sacrifice any national in-

⁴ Leonis XIII. Pontificis Maximi Acta, Romae, ex typographia Vaticana, 1878-1903, 26 volumes, 6, 20.

⁶ Saturday Review, LX (October 31, 1885), 564. The ring of this review is antipapal.

terest for its benefit." The hotheads, with their violent language and some violent action, might cause trouble. There was a crisis: everybody felt that something must be done.

Papal Intervention

Men could recall that on the Quirinal in Rome the sovereigns of other days: a Gregore VII, an Alexander III, an Innocent III, had played the role of arbiter in the quarrels between nations. But since Martin Luther's time that had hardly been the case. Now Humbert was sovereign there. Perhaps he could act as mediator. He was only too eager to imitate the masters of mediaeval Rome in this. Madrid was sounded out, but "old Spain, through the mouth of Canovas, thanked her young Latin sister, and refused." Then Bismarck hinted: "Let us approach the Pope."8 It was done. Leo XIII gladly accepted the office of mediator.9

It was no easy task the Pope had undertaken. He appointed as head of the commission to investigate and give a decision Luigi Galimberti, the editor of the Roman Monitor, who in his paper had dealt ably and sympathetically with events transpiring in Germany. He had thus made it easy for Bismarck to approach the Pope. Now that that was accomplished and the world was astir over it, he would work to prepare public opinion to receive the decision while he and the experts were preparing it. But as the Saturday Review then said: The ecclesiastics and lawyers who will be instructed with the duty The ecclesiastics and lawyers who will be instructed with the duty will find, if there is a serious contention between the two parties, that the law which they will have to administer must first be made . . . The conflicting claims of Spain and Germany raise no definite question of law. The annexation of territories occupied only by uncivilized tribes has been hitherto regulated and limited by the wants and the power of European occupiers. Neither Spain in the height of her power, nor England in later days, has been in the habit of consulting neighbors or competitors on any convenient extension of dominion.¹⁰

The points at issue would have to be discussed and settled along the lines of international law: a code which no one was better prepared for and more capable of handling than Galimberti's men but which was very difficult to interpret and apply just the same. There was no treaty or court in existence to cover a case like this one. Heretofore, occupation had been effected by force, often in the absence of competitors.

The hostility of some of the newspapers to papal arbitration soon became evident. The recently united Kingdom of Italy naturally felt quite indignant. Her overtures had been refused, and the ruler whose rights she had recently outraged was approached in her stead. The Protestant press, especially in Germany, was hard put to it. So were the "Liberals." Many bitter things, and some stupid things, were said. The whole business was a myth. Why, this is a return to the middle ages! Will Bismarck kneel before the Pope? Has the Pope become a king? Maybe Bismarck was just throwing a sop to the Pope. Anyway, the papal decision would have no binding force but would be considered merely advisory. And it mattered little, since the Pope was only going to declare which of the two, Germany or Spain, was the winner of the race to plant the flag on an obscure island in the southern Pacific. And so on. All of this interest just helped to show that something really remarkable had happened and that Bismarck had astounded the world.11

While others wondered and talked, Rome worked on through the latter months of 1885. By the end of the year the solution was ready and the suggested terms for a treaty were presented to Berlin and Madrid. Both capitals received them graciously and accepted them as a working basis for a treaty. This was soon drawn up and agreed to by King Alphonso XIII and Emperor William I. Spain's de iure claim to ownership of the Caroline Islands was acknowledged, as Pope Leo XIII had suggested it should be. On the other hand, Spain granted its competitor many concessions.

It (Spain) is not to compel German ships to call at any particular points; it is not to impose differential duties, nor to exact dues of any kind except where an effective occupation has been made, nor to put any restrictions of rights of the Germans to own plantations, nor to question already existing German claims, nor to impose penalties for goods carried in transit and destined for any unoccupied point in the islands.¹²

Germany was also allowed to establish a naval or coaling station in one of the Caroline Islands. Effective occupation was considered to mean that a garrison be established and maintained.

The Results

On December 31, 1885, when the whole controversy was over and settled to the satisfaction of those concerned. Pope Leo XIII addressed a letter to Prince Bismarck. In it he said that, although he had already expressed to the German Emperor his satisfaction at the happy issue of the controversy, he wanted to express the same to the Prince personally, since he knew that it was at his suggestion that the Holy See had been called in, that it was his constant care throughout the negotiations that had made possible a satisfactory settlement. He went on to thank Bismarck for having given the Apostolic See occasion to intervene in the interests of peace—not a new work to it surely, but a much desired task, and one most befitting. He thanked him, too, for the confidence he had placed in the Pope's impartiality, assuring him that all good men must be pleased with the event, and that Catholics the world over especially were happy to see their common Father and Pastor so honored. He commends him for his prudence, wishes the Empire well, indicates what great good in the world the Holy See can do if allowed to act freely, and expresses the hope that the good results of papal intervention in this case may not be forgotten in the future. Thereupon Pope Leo XIII confers upon Prince Bismarck the highest honor at his disposal, that of a Knight of the Order of the Militia of Christ.18

⁷ Ibid., 565

⁸ Georges Goyau, Bismarck et l'Eglise, Paris, Perrin et Cie., 1911-1913, 4 volumes, 4, 61,62. I am indebted to Georges Goyau, one of the great among modern historians, for many details here

given.

⁹ It is interesting to note that it was a Pope, Alexander VI, who, by his famous "lines of demarcation" of 1493 and 1494, gave Spain her earliest right to islands in the southern Pacific.

¹⁰ Saturday Review, LX (October 3, 1885), 434.

¹¹ Goyau, op. cit., 4, 63. 12 Saturday Review, LXI (January 23, 1886), 110. 13 Acta Leonis XIII., 5, 179,180.

On January 16, 1886, the Chancellor answered the Pope, saying that this honor conferred upon him was a cause of greatest joy. He stated that he was well aware that nothing was more befitting the office of the Roman Pontiff than to work in the interests of peace, and that it was this thought that had induced him to appeal the whole matter to the Pope for settlement. He further stated that the peaceful relations now existing between Germany and Spain were the fruit of the action taken by His Holiness, and expressed gratitude for the kind offices rendered. The closing words of this letter stunned the Italian government and startled Europe: "With the greatest reverence of which I am capable I acknowledge myself, O King, the most humble servant of Your Sanctity, V. Bismarck."14 It may be true, as Goyau says, that the German Chancellor said little in many words. They were certainly smooth words and in difficult Latin. But at that one word Rex the Pope was happy.

It seemed to him that the cries Evviva il Papa Re! which thousands of pilgrims, trusting in the intercession of the Apostle, made re-echo from time to time through the vaults of St. Peter's, had had their repercussion even in the palace of Bismarck: in that palace which for fifteen years had pretended to dominate Europe. Bismarck was no less satisfied and told his intimate friend Busch: "The Pope has given me his finest decoration, and that in a very flattering letter." 15

One wonders naturally enough what effect papal intervention in the Caroline Islands Dispute would have on the strained relations between Church and State in Germany that had now endured so long. The very broad hint given by Leo XIII in his letter was completely passed over in the answer. But the Pope, on his part, was as firm as ever, too. In a long letter to the bishops and faithful in Prussia January 6, 1886, he insisted that the May Laws must be revised and praised the Catholics of Germany for their persevering resistence and their sufferings for their faith. We know that a better understanding between the German government and the Catholic Church was not far off. Bismarck's suggestion that Pope Leo XIII be approached on the Caroline Islands affair is surely at least a gesture in the direction of conciliation.

So fitting a statement on this incident and one so apropos of our own time was made in a contemporary review that it may well be given here.

review that it may well be given here. Some have been ill-pleased at this appeal to the Holy Father, and would try and persuade themselves that his intervention was unnecessary and of no real effect; that, in a word, it would have been all one, whether he had been consulted or not; but the well known spirit of animosity and dislike to Papal intervention existing in some quarters hardly needed such clear indications of its presence, nor are they likely to mislead even the unwary. The real facts are well stated in the North German Gazette, which is a semi-official organ, and little accustomed, in spite of the example of some of its contemporaries, to substitute fancies for facts. It says: "What induced Germany to appeal to the Pope was not the mere question of the Carolines, but differences with Spain, by which peace between the two countries was conwith Spain, by which peace between the two countries was considerably endangered. To have arranged these differences is the great and indisputable merit of the Papal mediation. No one but the Pope would have obtained a similar success, the accomplishment of such a result requiring the veneration universally felt towards Pope Leo XIII, and the special gift for works of

peace possessed by this exalted personage." It is to be hoped that other nations may in similar difficulties adopt a like course, and that in these days of Gatling guns and torpedoes, and other dread instruments of wholesale destruction, many an engagement may be warded off, and many a gallant soldiers life spared, by the wisdom produces and exampled justice of the Vice. by the wisdom, prudence, and evenhanded justice of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, 16

In 1899 Germany purchased the Caroline Islands from Spain for sixteen million marks. Spain was to have a coaling station in each group and certain trading privileges.

16 The Tablet, XXXV New Series (January 30, 1886), 166.

Freedom of Conscience

(Continued from page ten)

government You shall take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your government, according to the rites of the Church of England.

Andrew Burnaby has reminded us how faithfully the governors of New York abided by those instructions. During his visit to New York City in 1760 he noticed that the Anglicans had two churches, the Low Dutch Calvinist two churches, while the High Dutch Calvinist, the French Calvinist, the German Lutherans, the Presbyterians, the Quakers, the Anabaptists, the Moravians and the Jews had their church or meeting-house or synagogue. 18 But the Catholies had no church. They remained in or near Pennsylvania until the Revolution restored the freedom they enjoyed during the rule of Charles II.

13 Albert B. Hart (ed.), American History Told by Contemporaries (New York, 1936), II, 88.

Irish Freedom (Continued from page twelve)

English, and its shame. When an English newspaper announced that steam had put Ireland irrevocably in the grasp of England, he retored: "Whisper in your ear John Bull, steam has brought America within ten days of Ireland." "We are eight millions," he often said, "there is another million of Irishmen in England; there are Irishmen, not forgetful of their country in the English army. We shall make no rebellion, we wish no civil war, we shall keep on the ground of the constitution as long as we are allowed to do so; but if Peel forces on a contest, if he invades the constitutional right of the Irish people—then vae victis between the contending parties. Where is the coward who would not die for such a land as Ireland? . . . Let our enemies attack us if they dare. They shall never trample me under their feet; if they do it will be my dead body."

Though O'Connell did not want civil war, he thought he could force Peel's hand by threatening it. It is almost impossible to estimate the real force generated by the Monster Meetings, but it is certain that O'Connell was not ready for insurrection, even though the Young Irelanders were. Between these and O'Connell there was always friction, for neither their aims nor their methods were the same. Repeal rent was now coming in faster and faster, and Dr. McHale and the Irish clergy supported O'Connell strongly. In the summer of '43 he formed a sort of council of three hundred which was to assume

¹⁴ The text of Bismarck's reply may be found in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, VII (1886), 569-570. The original of the striking conclusion is: "Maxima qua possum reverentia me Sanctitatis vestrae, o Rex profiteor. Demississimum servum, V. Bismarck." V. Bismarck." 15 Goyau, op. cit., 4, 68.

government after Repeal. This was a mistake, for the act's legality is very doubtful. In a sense he violated his own principle; "Whoever commits a crime gives strength to the enemy."

It was apparent now that the crisis was approaching. "The Councillor will give the word any day," was whispered all over the country. The Young Irelanders' paper, The Nation was openly discussing plans for military organization. Peel said he would prefer civil war to concession. O'Connell defied him. "Repeal now means separation, and hatred of the British connection," wrote the Chancellor. British troops were at hand at every meeting.

The Defeat

Then came the catastrophe. A super-Monster Meeting had been arranged for Sunday, October 8, to be held at Clontarf, as associated with a great Irish victory. Vast preparations were made. A couple of days before British troops began to converge from every quarter, men-of-war entered Dublin Bay, the guns at the Pigeon House were turned towards Clontarf. On Saturday evening a proclamation was made, forbidding the meeting. O'Connell immediately complied, for not to do so would have been to occasion mass slaughter. It was no easy task to stop the meeting at that late hour, but it was done. The proclamation of the government was an unpardonable act, which but for O'Connell's speedy decision and action might have meant carnage.

O'Connell was now indicted, condemned by a corrupt court, and imprisoned in May, 1844. This sentence was annulled by the House of Lords in September and he was released. Though cheered to the echo, O'Connell never wielded the same influence again; for Clontarf had been a sad anticlimax, and he was now an old man whose brain was worn out and befogged. When he ad-

dressed the people on his return, he abused and censured, and carried the crowd with him, but gone was the old decision, and there was no plan for the future. A few more flutters, and the flame that was O'Connell would die. A great pageant took place when he returned, but little more was done. Less than three years later O'Connell died at Genoa, on his way to Rome, worn out by a life spent in the service of his country and his faith.

The question one may now ask is why did O'Connell fail. Why was he not able to use the great following of people he had at his beck and call? He had threatened that Ireland would resist if she were attacked, and yet when Peel struck the whole movement collapsed. One reason is, certainly, in O'Connell's underestimation of Peel. He did not realize that Peel would actually risk civil war. Peel was, in some respects, more farsighted. He had seen that O'Connel was somewhat prone to vacillation, and so he struck, knowing that if he could but hold O'Connell for a few more years, the veteran would be too old to lead another popular movement.

In estimating the collapse of the Repeal movement of 1843, O'Connell's age can scarcely be overestimated. He capitulated at Clontarf in order to save his country, but all the anxiety of the trial and his imprisonment told on the old man. When he was released the people expected much, but he was too old to lead them. May we not leave him as the crowd passes through College Green, in Dublin, and the old man from his triumphal car points out to the cheering crowds the old Parliament House which with their aid he would have restored as the seat of Ireland's government.

"Americanism"

(Continued from page four)

extremes; but enough did to give grounds for such views as those taken by Maignen and Martin. Moreover, it was looked upon by non-Catholics in many European circles as a compromise on matters of faith and dogma with the modern world and with Protestantism.

Auguste Sabatier, Dean of the Protestant Faculty of Theology at Paris, for example, stated that the liberal Catholicism of Montalembert, of De Broglie, and of Dupanloup lived on in America in Cardinal Gibbons, in Archbishop Ireland, and other of the typical "puissant" members of the American hierarchy. He went on to describe Americanism thus:

Three traits distinguish and characterize American Catholicism: with a profound consciousness of the necessity of the day and the need of humanity at the end of this century, it seeks to be modern, democratic and individualistic, and this under the sovereignty of the Papacy and in complete obedience to its directions.

Accord between scientific culture and religious faith: there is the first condition for a church's being modern and effective in contemporary society, in marching sympathetically in step with it.

These Catholics are equally Americans if they wish to be of their time; they are even more of the country. But an American citizen does not merely believe in liberty as an ideal; he enjoys it as a good.... The constitution of the United States has a moral value which raises it above all others. It is the ideal constitution of the future; the state of separation between church and state, this common right of all religions, this equality before the civil law to which the Catholics of our age have such great difficulty in reconciling themselves.¹²

A quite different definition of Americanism is given by its supporters, both in this country and in France. One of the most objective and judicious of its proponents in France, Abbé Boeglin, is insisted in a long article in *Univers* on November 8, 1898, that Pope Leo XIII personally favored the Americanism of such men as Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland and that he encouraged the extention of the methods of missonary activity they used in America.

On January 24, 1899, 14 Abbé Boeglin described Americanism in Vie Catholique in these words:

¹ The perfect order at these meetings was due in a great degree to the influence of Fr. Matthew, whose career as temperance apostle was at the time at its height. The Temperance movement and the Repeal movement mutually assisted each other. Part of Fr. Matthew's success was due to the pitch of enthusiasm which O'Connell had generated; and O'Connell said that he would never have dared to hold the Monster Meetings, but for 'his policemen,' the teetotallers.

¹² Courrier de Geneve. Oct. 21, 1898. Quoted in Barbier, op. cit. 259-60.

¹³ Even the opponents of Americanism in France admitted that Abbé Boeglin was objective in his arguments and moderate in his statements.

It is understood among the young, active supporters of the Papacy that Americanism is neither a system of philosophy, nor a new theology, nor an adventurous theory. It is substantially a method of work, of action. It is Catholicism in the fullness of its liberty and its flowering; it is the traditional behavior of the Papacy and of the Church adapting the divine deposit of this century

It is Catholicism unalloyed, pure, as the Christianity of the second century when the builders of the Church preached Christ second century when the builders of the Church preached Christ in the language of that time. It is in the same way that Americanism has been disgraced by reactionaries, while saluted by distinguished Catholics and the followers of the Pope . . . Americanism is everywhere . . . in all countries; the best Catholic groups, all safeguarding their proper beings, but conformed to the condition of their milieu, are Americanist in the better cones of the word better sense of the word.

The definition of Americanism most widely accepted by its followers is that made by Monsignor Dennis J. O'Connell, rector of the American college at Rome. In a speech on Americanism before the International Scientific Congress of Catholics at Fribourg in August, 1897, Monsignor O'Connell stated that Americanism "involves no conflict with either Catholic faith or morals; that, in spite of repeated statements to the contrary, it is no new form of heresy or liberalism or separatism; and that, fairly considered, 'Americanism' is nothing else than that loyal devotion that Catholics in America bear to the principles on which their government is founded, and their conscientious conviction that these principles afford Catholics favorable opportunities for promoting the glory of God, the growth of the Church, and the salvation of souls in America."15

Pope Leo XIII recognized that the term Americanism was used in two completely different senses: that on the one hand it might refer to the ensemble of liberal, heretical, Modernist doctrines imputed to it by such men as Maignen, and that on the other hand it might be used to cover the many perfectly good practices of the American hierarchy in pursuing their mission in this country. His encyclical condemns certain beliefs "which some comprise under the head of Americanism;" at the same time he makes it clear that he fully approves the activity of such men as Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland.

Doctrine and Practice

Just how far did the Americanists in their country go, both in doctrine and in practice, toward those heresies imputed to them by the French clergy and condemned by the pope? That question can be answered only by an examination of the activity and the writings of the outstanding Americanists of the country, first of all of Father Hecker their "spiritual father",16 and then of the outstanding representatives of the group, such as Archbishop Keane and Archbishop Ireland.

The central figure of Americanism in its earlier stages. and the man who plotted the course it was to take, was Father Issac Hecker.¹⁷ Now Father Hecker was a convert from Protestantism and an unusual sort of person. He decided to study for the priesthood shortly after his conversion in 1844 and entered the Redemptorist Order. From all accounts he was an indifferent student, judging by the schoolmaster's standards. He deprecated the formal study of philosophy and theology; for himself, he found it especially difficult to get down to study. His superiors found him no mere dunce, however, and he was finally ordained. From the beginning he proved himself an unusually zealous and, in his way, capable priest.

He was one of a group of five Americans, who entered the order at the same time. The five of them came to have "American" as distinguished from "European" views on the method of conducting apostolic work in this country. A misunderstanding arose concerning the establishment of a new house, whereupon the American priests decided to send Father Hecker to Rome to lay the matter before the General of the order. In 1857 Father Hecker was expelled from the order on the grounds that his coming to Rome was a violation of the vows of obedience and poverty. The next year he obtained from the Pope permission to found a new order, the Paulists, named after St. Paul, whom many Catholics looked upon as the "First Americanizer" in the Church.

The next thirty years Father Hecker directed the activity of the Paulists, preaching in a method and writing in a vein that became the basis of "Americanism" in this country. The philosophical justification of Americanism as a method of preaching is found in Father Hecker's philosophy of history. Providence has had a guiding hand all through history, he maintained; for always God has made use of the peculiar genius of various peoples to counteract forces working against the Church. This has been true all through history, but Father Hecker concentrates on the period since the Reformation. Since that time the Church has been on the defensive, and necessarily so, for the Reformation was primarily an attack on the authority of Rome. As a result, it had to place before everything else an emphasis on authority. Thus it sacrificed the development of personality to the fostering of an association of men whose wills were absolutely merged by discipline into one powerful body. The needs of the time were filled especially by the Jesuits who insisted, above all, on the authority of the pope. The acceptance of such authority gave the Latin races a chance for supremacy in the Church, for they were better fitted to it than their more individualistic Teutonic brethren.

But this age of the Church had come to a close in 1870 when the Jesuits completed their work by securing the ecumenical definition of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council. And now a new age opens for the

¹⁴ Testem Benevolentiae was dated Jan. 22, though it was not released for publication until Feb. 21. It is possible, even probable, that Abbé Boeglin was cognizant of the contents of the encyclical at the time he wrote this. It had been rumored throughout France during the latter part of December that the pope was going to issue a letter on the subject. In Dec. 29 Vie Catholique stated that the pope was about to hand down a decision favorable to "American ideas," that he had refused to pronounce a condemnation on Father Hecker and Americanism despite insistence from "most influential people."

15 Quoted by Archbishop John J. Keane, "America as Seen from Abroad," Catholic World, Vol. LXVI, March, 1898, p. 730. Also in Barbier, op. cit., 256.

16 Archbishop Ireland often insists on this point. Cf., for example, his preface to Elliott's biography of Father Hecker.

¹⁷ The standard work on Father Hecker's life has long been the biography of Rev. Walter Elliott, C.S.P., The Life of Father Hecker. The book offers a sympathetic, though not sufficiently critical, study of Father Hecker's spiritual Aeneid and of the conclusions to which he came on the method of converting Americans to the Church. Written immediately after Father Hecker's death in 1888, it contains long extracts from his letters, sermons, and other writings.

Church. The Council of the Vatican, by giving to the principle of authority its dogmatic completion, had placed it above all attacks. Now that the external organization of the Church is completed and she need no longer worry about authority, it becomes her mission to cultivate the individuality, the personality of souls, their free and vigorous initiative under the direct guidance of the Holy Ghost dwelling within them. Church is now on the offensive and needs a new kind of apostolate.

The second main point of his theory, therefore, was concerned with the two-fold action of the Holy Spirit. "The Holy Spirit, in the external authority of the Church, acts as the infallible interpreter and criterion of divine revelation. The Holy Spirit in the soul acts as the Divine Life-Giver and Sanctifier . . . The Holy Spirit, which, through the authority of the Church teaches divine truth, is the same Spirit which prompts the soul to receive the divine truths which He teaches."18 His conclusion was that the danger of teaching error was very small now, for the Holy Ghost would protect individuals from it by His inner prompting through each one's soul. Therefore, the Church should not insist so much upon external authority; rather should it seek to promote personal sanctification of members and their individual initiative.

And that is especially necessary because of the character of the age. Men are rationalistic and naturalistic nowadays. If the Church becomes more of an Ecclesia discens and less of an Ecclesia docens it will be able to win many more converts and will enter upon an era of unprecedented prosperity. Father Hecker insisted that there was nothing true or genuinely natural in modern civilization which the Church could not use, that there was no contrast between the Church and modern society. He believed that the Church could emphasize natural virtues and show how they could be completely realized only in the Church, for "God is no less the author of nature than of grace, of reason than of faith, of this earth than of heaven.'

But he did not advocate changing the deposit of faith entrusted to the Church or accepting any of the errors of the age, as so many of his critics came to believe. "So far as it is compatible with faith and piety. I am for accepting the American civilization with its usages and customs."19

Thus it followed that there were certain things upon which the Church should throw emphasis. First of all, it should not emphasize the cultivation of the so-called "passive virtues"; rather should it stress the "active virtues". It should modify its rules for the religious life so as to fit the elergy, secular and regular, into the spirit of the age. What, then was the spirit of the age? Father Elliott, in his chapter on "Father Hecker's Idea of a Religious Community" describes it thus: "Now every one knows that this age differs materially from past ones. It differs by a wider spread of education and an uncontrollable longing after liberty, civil, political, and personal . . . Father Hecker was penetrated with the belief that the intelligence and liberty, whose wellordered enjoyment he had witnessed in America, and which he loved so deeply himself, were divine invitations to the apostolate of the Holy Spirit."20

The following notes quoted by Elliott from Father Hecker's diary describe what he thought should constitute the ideal religious community:

A Paulist, as a distinct species of a religious man, is one who is alive to the pressing needs of the Church at the present time, and feels called to labor specially with the means fitted to supply them. . . . A Paulist is a Christian man who aims at a Christian perfection consistent with his natural characteristics and the type of civilization of his country.

A Paulist is to emphasize individuality; that is to make individual liberty an essential element in every judgment that touches life and welfare of the community and that of its members. Those who emphasize the community element are inclined to look upon this as a dangerous and impracticable experiment. Individuality is an integral and conspicuous element in the life of the Paulist. This must be felt. One of the natural signs of the true Paulist is that he would prefer to suffer from the excesses of liberty rather than from the arbitrary acions of tyranny.²²

The United States, Father Hecker believed, was to play the most glorious role in the Church's history, for the liberty and the active, natural virtues on which the Church must rely in this new age are most completely realizable in the United States. Protestantism does not harmonize with the freedom of mind and spirit so prized in the United States. But Catholicism does-indeed, this is the burden of all his preaching:

The form of government of the United States is preferable to Catholics above other forms. It is more favorable than others to the practice of those virtues which are the necessary conditions of the development of the religious life of man. This governof the development of the religious life of man. This government leaves men a larger margin for the liberty of action, and hence for co-operation with the guidance of the Holy Spirit, than any other government under the sun. With these popular institutions men enjoy greater liberty in working out their true destiny. The Catholic Church will, therefore, flourish all the more in this republican country in proportion as her representatives keep, in their civil life, to the lines of their republicanism.²⁸

Results of the Doctrine

These ideas, presented to his followers by Father Hecker, were taken up by that group of the American clergy who were sympathetic with the age, particularly by those who wished to see Catholic immigrants to the country Americanized.24 These were chiefly the native clergy of America, especially those of Irish descent. They saw in the demands of such groups as the Germans for a German clergy a danger to the future of Catholicism in America. It was their belief that the Church simply could not prosper unless it adapted itself, insofar as possible, to the American way of life and to American institutions. And there was good ground for such fears. Had Cahenslyism25 been successful, the Catholic Church would certainly have taken on an unnecessarily foreign coloring that would have prejudiced it in the eyes of all non-Catholic Americans of the time.

It is this struggle, one should remember, which lies back of what at times seems an almost pugnacious stand

<sup>Elliott, The Life of Father Hecker, p. 394.
Elliott, Op. cit., 292. Italics are mine.</sup>

²⁰ Ibid., p. 291.
21 Ibid., p. 292.
22 Ibid., p. 294
23 Ibid., p. 293
24 This term has no more than a tenuous connection with Americanism. It refers only to the process of making Americans out of the various immigrants into the country.
25 So called after Peter Cahensly, secretary of the Archangel Raphael society in Germany. In 1890 he presented a memorial to the pope, claiming that the Church had lost sixteen million souls, which he attributed to immigrants not having priests of their own nationality.

by some members of the hierarchy on the Church's adapting herself to the age and to the country, and back of their somewhat uncritical acceptance of American institutions as being superior to any others in the world at the time.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, followers of Father Hecker did glorify the "Age of Progress" and the role of America in the future of the Church in terms that could be seized upon by French opponents and be quoted to indicate that an American Gallicanism was in the process of formation, Today such an acceptance of the age appears unduly optimistic and more than a little naive, but it must be remembered that only a few of the most acute men of the time realized that the freedom of the times could easily become dangerous and the progress might be progress downhill rather than uphill toward a better civilization.

The Paulist Father Doyle was only voicing the thoughts of most American Catholics of the age when he wrote: "The 19th century, with its marvelous changes in the political, individual, and social orders, has been an era of preparation for the newer and larger revelation of God's spirit to the world . . . It is the John the Baptist among the centuries."28

Father Doyle was convinced that the "upward and onward struggle" will develop the religious sentiment throughout the world, but in his development America is to play the leading role inasmuch as to freedom needed for missionary activity is granted here.

I believe, moreover, in the providential ordering of nations. It is here, if we are true to our trusts, that Catholicity is destined to achieve her greatest triumphs—triumphs alongside of which the conversion of the Franks or any of the northern races will fade into insignificance . . . 27.

The free air of liberty has been peculiarly favorable to her growth . . . The perfect natural manhood . . . needs but the touch of the Holy Spirit to supernaturalize it.28.

The same aspirations are voiced even more emphatically by John J. Keane, Rector of the Catholic University of America at one time and later Archbishop of Dubuque. In his collection of discourses significantly entitled Onward and Upward and in an article "America

as Seen From Abroad," which appeared in the Catholic World. Archbishop Keane idealizes progress and is thoroughly optimistic as to what is to be achieved in the future by America, "the beacon-light for the world's future."29 Opponents of Americanism have frequently quoted his remarks which show an unrestrained optimism and his acceptance of the age, such as: "The perfect conciliation of authority with freedom, of liberty with law. will be the crowning triumphy of civilization."80 But these opponents fail to show that Archbishop Keane was careful to distinguish true progress from a superficial material and godless kind. He concludes his remarks on America and progress, for example, in these words: "That our America may be-as we fondly hope she is destined to be—the leader of the world's progress, it is not necessary that she should own more gold and silver than any other nation, but that she should have the best and happiest people in the world."31

He points out that Americans preach no liberty condemned by Pope Leo XIII in his Libertas Praestantissimum32 and that America is fortunate in not being hampered by "traditional notions or methods or prejudices."38 Consequently he expects to see Catholics and Protestants work in harmony in this country and to see America lead the way in disarmament into a world ruled by international law.

Readers of The Historical Bulletin have recently been requesting back issues of the Bulletin. We are ready to supply almost any back issue or issues from our files. However, there are some issues of which we have no copies on hand. We will be glad to have the opportunity to purchase any of these should anyone have copies of the following:

Vol. III, IV, V, VI any issue; VII, 1, 2; VIII, 1, 2; IX, 1, 2; XI, 2; XII, 1, 3, 4; XIII, 1, 2; XVIII, 3. Thank you.

Recent Books in Review

CHURCH HISTORY

History of Bigotry in the United States, by Gustavus Myers. Random House. New York. 1943. pp. viii +504. \$3.50

The author, Gustavus Myers, is proud of his fact finding ability. He is recorded in Twentieth Century Authors as "a worshipper of facts." Consequently, we find him amassing a huge heap of facts about bigotry.

He divides the book into three main parts: the Puritans and bigotry; the Catholics and bigotry; the Jews and bigotry. He traces the origins of bigotry back from the New World into the Old World, showing that the thought-ways of America were dependent on their sources in the Old World but took on typical American coloring. American coloring.

You could generalize the author's ideas quite easily. "The Puritans were bigots, but they did not begin bigotry in America. The Catholics were historically (and are) bigots; but they, too, are not responsible for the beginnings of bigotry. The Jews are not bigots, but the Jews have always been huge sufferers from bigotry."

The author, obviously, faced a twofold task in writing book. He had to get at the objective truth, if he could. T he had to accept and digest that truth, if he could; and subsequently he had to present the truth, uncolored, if he could. He could not identify and isolate examples of bigotry except where he could find blind, passionate ignorance or malicious misrepresentation, or both sentation-or both.

I am rather certain that Gustavus Myers, recently deceased, would have written a better book if he had understood the genius of Catholicism. The Western World originated in Catholicism, lived as Catholic for a brief heyday, disintegrated in repudiating Catholicism. To understand modern manifestations of bigotry, the author would have been better equipped had he understood what Catholicism is. He would have been better

²⁶ Catholic World, V. 64, Nov., 1896, "The Future of Catholicity in America," p. 206.
27 Ibid., p. 209.
28 Ibid., p. 210.

²⁹ Onward and Upward. p. 254

³⁰ Ibid., p. 219

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 286
32 Issued June 20, 1888.—Americanists were always careful that the freedom they advocated was in harmony with that allowed as "true freedom" in this encyclical.

33 Catholic World, "America as Seen From Abroad," V. 66.

Mar., 1898, p. 722

equipped if he had known what religion is and had been able to conceive of objective values as existing in religion; for bigotry is superstition, and superstition is a debased form of religion. Myers

superstition, and superstition is a debased form of religion. Myers does not know of any objective values possible to religion and he does not know of the possibility of objective truth.

But those handicaps are philosophical inadequacies. Making allowance for them, we are glad to see that the author has put together a handy compilation of "myths" and that sometimes he has put before us what appears to be a good account and a fair itemization of facts wherewith to explode the myths, which are responsible for the perennially recurring charges, unfounded and myshle to be founded on anything but ignorance and greed and unable to be founded on anything but ignorance and greed and animosities. His data, assembled within the covers of one book, will save much scattered hunting for those who wish to see how bigotry works.

BAKEWELL MORRISON

The Larks of Umbria, by Albert Paul Schimberg. Milwaukee. Bruce. 1942. pp. viii + 237. \$2.75

This popular treatment of the life of a thirteenth century knight of Christ reads like a novel. Too many biographies of St. Francis of Assisi have already been written to justify another ordinary narration of the Saint's life. The Larks of Umbria has a special appeal. It paints the gay, romantic side of St. Francis' character. The treatment may seem too romantic to some, but these should recognize that one of the author's apparent aims in writing the book is, by stressing the romantic side, to show the compatibility and even interdependence of profound asceticism and cheerful simplicity of heart and thus widen the book's appeal. He shows that Francis' preaching to the birds, his singing of nature, and his kissing of a leper all stem from the root of a heart on fire with love for God.

The author gets his theme for the book from a quotation from St. Francis given on page four: "'Brothers, we are the Larks of God. Sister Lark has a hood like us and is a humble bird, for she goes willingly along the wayside and finds a grain of corn for herself. . . Her plumage is of the same color as the earth and is an example to us that we shall not have fine and colored cloths, but simple and plain. . . . But when she flies upward, she praises God so devoutly, like good Brothers of our order, whose life is in the heavens and whose pleasure is always in glorifying God'."

The Larks of Umbria is an ideal book for widening the appeal and influence of lives of the saints.

Gerald R. Sheahan and influence of lives of the saints.

The Dominican Province of St. Joseph, by V. F. O'Daniel O. P. New York, National Headquarters of the Holy Name Society. 1942. pp. xii + 517. \$4.00

The exact history of the Catholic Church in the United States, growing slowly under individual enterprise, has received a new and carefully treated contribution in *The Dominican Province of St. Joseph*. With a brief introduction of the history of the Dominican Order, the story of the Province of St. Joseph is traced from its beginnings under Father Fenwick, O.P., up to the present time, with emphasis on snapshot biographies of the men who founded and those who succeeded the founders of the Dominican Order in America of the Dominican Order in America.

There is almost too much attention to minutiae in this volume, although these many details are pleasant and interesting reading in themselves. Also a little less sketchy introduction by way of general knowledge of the Order of Preachers and its English of general knowledge of the Order of Freschers and its English. Province would have helped for a more complete understanding from one volume of the work of the zealous men who were responsible for the solid foundation of the Order of Preachers in America.

J. J. Campbell

An Outline History of The Church by Centuries (From St. Peter to Pius XII), by Joseph McSerley. St. Louis. B. Herder Book Co. 1943. pp. xxix + 1084. \$7.50

Histories of the Church in the English language are few, and good one-volume Church histories are still fewer. It is difficult to confine oneself to the limits of a single volume when writing to confine oneself to the limits of a single volume when writing of the Catholic Church, but students of Church history as well as students of history in general owe to Father McSorley a debt of gratitude for his new contribution to this field. His one-volume history shows us the light and shadows of the ages of the Church as they really were. The treatment is clear, accurate, concise. The author has accomplished the difficult task of presenting twenty centuries of the history of the greatest institution on earth in one volume. He has sifted the material well, and the result is a great work.

result is a great work.

Outstanding among the commendable points of this book is its organization. The matter has been divided according to centuries and within each of these units the author gives: I Political Background, II The Church: 'The Papacy; 'Catholic Life, Doctrine, Discipline, Practice; '3Opposition; '4Missions; Summary; Time Chart. This order makes the work very valuable as a handy reference book for all points of Church history.

The saints and the popes of the various centuries are treated according to their importance. Each religious order is given due recognition, and the trends of large movements are not hindered.

recognition, and the trends of large movements are not hindered by the division into centuries. An abundance of maps, a copious bibliography and a minute index are other characteristics which make the book a handy reference for the desk of every student of history.

E. J. KURTH.

Dogsled Apostles, by A. H. Savage. New York. Sheed & Ward. 1942. pp. xv + 231. \$2.75

Dogsled Apostles is a tribute to Bishop Crimont, S. J., Vicar Apostolic of Alaska, who is the oldest, in point of years of the American hierarchy. It is, however, not exclusively devoted to the work of Bishop Crimont, but chapters are given to the other earlier missionaries after Alaska was purchased from Russia. A short chapter on the history of Alaska is also included, and several units are devoted to the customers of the Eskimo.

The volume is written in a popular style with the intention of popular presentation and not too much attention to an historical perspective, but *Dogsled Apostles* may be included among historical works for its sketches are authentic and

among historical works for its skevelles accurate as far as they go.

Libraries will appreciate this very readable book as an addition to the very scanty literature on Alaska and the progress of Catholicism there; college and high school students will enjoy J. J. CAMPBELL

Life of St. Charles Borromeo, by Most Rev. Cesare Orsenigo, trans. by Rev. Rudolph Kraus. St. Louis. B. Herder. 1943. pp. x + 390. \$4.00

The author has given a complete picture of the life of St. Charles, emphasizing his work as a reformer and defender of the Church. For this reason the book contains a good background of the times of Borromeo, times similar in many respects to

the present.

the present.

A fine feature of the book is the style of the chapter headings, e.g., "St. Charles and Civil Rulers", "St. Charles and the Popes"; this makes the book a convenient reference for classes on the 16th Century and on Church-history. At the same time such a device allows sections to be skipped by the pleasure-reader who wishes to get something of a picture of St. Charles as a man. The book is necessarily large, for it is the life of a man of so many and such varied works. Many readers might find it heavy, since the author often goes into great detail, as for example, when he gives the ancestry of St. Charles in the beginning. On the whole it would seem best used as a supplement in a Modern European History course or as a reference book for the times and for excerpts describing the brilliant life of Milan's greatest figure. greatest figure.

H. C. OLIVER.

EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Building of Eternal Rome, by Edward Kennard Rand. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press. 1943. pp. xi + 318. Illustrated. \$3.50

Rome is the Eternal City. Her influence on the life and civilization of the West has remained unique—in strength, in universality, and in a freshness which is perennial. Why this historical phenomenon is so, Dr. Rand has admirably shown in his new book, based on last year's Levell lettures. his new book, based on last year's Lowell lectures at Harvard. With his usual charm, accurate scholarship, and pleasant style, he has drawn on his wide and intimate knowledge of our cultural past to bring into clear focus the vital principles of Rome's undying contribution to the higher life of the world. It is a book to enjoy and cherish.

The eternal aspects of Rome's culture lie in the realm of the mind, in ideals of humane life and government. It is this spirit and outlook, rather than Rome's history, which the author here treats. He shows the flowering of the Roman ideal under the influence of Polybius, Ennius, Cicero and the Scipionic circle; its translation into more or less successful practice in the Empire

under Augustus, with Vergil, Livy, and Horace enriching the ideal while they gave it its fullest expression; the shift of emphasis which occurred in the Silver Age, the subsequent decadence, and later rejuvenation of Rome's greatness under the stimulus and purifying energy of the Faith. How this culture worked itself into the marrow of Byzantine and medieval life, and has moulded the civilization of every subsequent age, particularly through the instrumentality of the Catholic Church, is eloquently brought out in the closing chapters. The treatment of St. Augustine and of Dante is very sensitive, and there are noble tributes to the work of the Church, to Jesuit education, and to the warm splendor of the Roman liturgy.

The book is studded with beautiful and dynamic passages, and the author's characteristic urbane humor is everywhere in evidence. Apart from one or two misprints, and an inaccurate quotation of the text of Dante on p. 248 (probably due to quoting from memory), the book is technically faultless. It seems, though, that Julius Caesar is unduly neglected in the account of the moulders of the Roman spirit; and more attention might well have been paid to Rome's special formative influence on later civilization in the matter of statecraft and the philosophy of law. The text is thoroughly documented throughout, and both bibliography and index will be found helpful. The book is beautifully printed, a delight to use.

This is a work of high merit and charm. Anyone who appreciates the great role of classical and Catholic Rome in the world's better life will find Rand's rich and mellow study eminently worth reading. Here is to be found not only deep knowledge of Eternal Rome, but (what is rarer) insight and understanding.

RAYMOND V. SCHODER

Western Civilization, by F. J. Tschan, H. J. Grimm, and J. D. Squires. J. B. Lippincott Co. Chicago. 1942. pp. 1447 + ixxxii. \$7.00 (2 vols.)

The authors of Western Civilization have succeeded well in fulfilling their stated purpose: "to provide college students with a well-integrated narrative of man's development from the centuries during which the Roman Empire crumbled to the present day." Scholarly details and elaborated evidences are woven together in a very flowing style. Lights and shadows are accentuated with evident purpose, making for easy and pleasant reading.

In the first volume the progress is very rapid. Perhaps not enough is said of the Feudal system, which is simplified considerably by the authors, whereas in reality it was a process of some years duration. On the other hand, Charles the Great and later the Italian renaissance seem to receive more than their share of space. The writers show deftness in dealing with the Church-State relations during the Middle Ages, and give a fair treatment to the non-deadening effect of religion on learning.

The second volume tends to be more detailed, especially toward the last century. Perhaps the authors feel, and rightly so, the more recent hundred years are more important to us today. However, though handled briefly and deftly, the recent developments in the present war make more for news than for history writing.

The maps and illustrations are well chosen and placed. Along with the marginal headings they make the book valuable to the R. NEENAN student and teacher.

Mediaeval History, by Carl Stephenson. Revised Edition. New York and London. Harper & Brothers. 1943. pp. xx + 700. Index.

In his first edition published in 1935 Professor Carl Stephenson wrote a praiseworthy treatise of mediaeval history with interesting chapters on Arabic and Byzantine civilizations. Nevertheless he has made notable revisions in the present edition. First he tends to follow more closely a chronological arrangement of events, interweaving the narrative of political history, thus realizing one essential that guarantees a very readable text. By reducing the number of chapters from twenty-eight to twenty-six with convenient subtitles, and by reorganizing their content, the author gives us a clearer and more concise volume. Whatever deletion there is of names and unimportant detail has been recompensed by a fuller scholarly treatment of economic developments, social conditions, arts, letters, and education.

The original contributions of the Roman Empire, and the subsequent contributions of the Byzantine and Arabic Empires to mediaeval culture are emphasized by a greater attention given to science, technology, and the material civilization in general.

Handy maps, illustrations, genealogical tables, and suggested

readings contribute toward a better text book.

The weakest chapters of the book are those dealing with religion. This weakness is summarized in a statement given in the conclusion: "Without serious distortion of the truth, the Protestant Revolution might be called a chapter in the history of mediaeval religion . . ." The fact that religion was the characteristic cohesive force of the Middle Ages, and the Protestant Revolution was a revolt against this spiritual force of unity makes the statement quite misleading. Furthermore, it manifests a common liberal concept of religious evolution, so characteristic of the indifference to religion in the present age.

WILLIAM H. STEINER

Patterns and Principles of Spanish Art, by Oskar Hagen. Madison. University of Wisconsin Press. 1943. pp. xix + 279. \$4.00

A satisfying, thorough outline-analysis of the art of Spain has been hard to find; as a result the estimation of Spanish art has suffered both through neglect and by judgment on the standards of other nations. Patterns and Principles of Spanish Art is a brilliant, Spanish-point-of-view analysis of Spanish art from the days of the Moors to those of Francisco Goya. It is a valuable healt for historian and students for the standard of the standa a valuable book for historian and student of art alike.

The art of a nation or an era gives an intuitive insight into its history. Oskar Hagen explains the art of Spain in its causes: Spain's geographical and climatic character, her traditions, her influences from outside and reactions to great men within. He clearly distinguishes between the unchanging Spanish style and the period styles which changed as frequently as theories, techniques, artistic conceptions, and individual genius.

The actual analysis stops with Goya. But whoever reads the book gets a feeling for the abstract, angular and planar patterns of Spanish art which helps him recognize the origins of the abstract art of today in the work of the Spanish Primitives and trace its progress through El Greco, Velasquez, Goya, Picasso, and France's Cézanne.

The 100 illustrations are well chosen, but some are rather small and unnecessarily dark. They are perhaps insufficient for the reader without another source of pictures to follow the author's comparisons and descriptions.

North Africa, by Alan H. Brodrick. 1943. pp. 95. \$1.25 France, by Pierre Maillaud. 1942. pp. 134. \$1.25 Britain and the British People, by Ernest Barker. 1942. pp. 136. \$1.25. New York. Oxford University Press.

In North Africa, Mr. Brodrick gives a precise, up-to-date account of a land so much in the foreground at the present. He treats of each country in North Africa and gives in detail its history and geography, its people and government. Though the curtain has been run down in this theater of war, the book will still prove interesting and will give a better understanding of North Africa.

In the news of today and the history of tomorrow France holds one of the high points of interest. It is for this reason that Maillaud's little book, France, proves interesting. He goes back to show the part that France has played in the history of the continent, in order to bring out the full meaning of her defeat in 1940. With her defeat in 1940, the historical struggle of maintaining divided powers on the continent was brought to an end. The author is to be congratulated for his clear and very interesting presentation.

In his small book Britain and the British People, Barker gives a rather complete description of the character of the British people, and an interesting account of their religion and the various churches of Britain. A good deal of the book is given over to a clear and sufficient exposition of their form of government and the English system of law. His treatment is interesting throughout and is marked by a clear, concise style.

J. G. Holbrook

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Story of the Americas, by Leland Dewitt Baldwin. New York. Simon and Schuster. 1943. pp. 720. \$3.50

This review might very properly begin with the statement that the present work will prove an answer to the question often asked in these days: "Where can I find a good book, interesting and not too detailed, which will cover the story of the Western Hemisphere?" Mr. Baldwin has made it possible to answer that question in very satisfactory fashion. It truly is the story of the Americas, and that story well told. It reminds one most forcibly, in its sweep, its ability to stress the highlights, its smoothly moving style, of that splendid story of the United States which James Truslow Adams told some years back in his *Epic*

which James Truslow Adams told some years back in his Epic of America.

The colonial story is told very well and with greater fullness of detail than the later story of the independent American nations. This, however, is easily understandable and equally excusable. Not much space is given to internal developments of the United States, rather the relations of this nation with the other Americas forms the theme of the later pages. The author is to be commended on his careful and sympathetic handling of the colonial period, especially the colonial enterprise of the Spaniards and the Portuguese. He has deliberately avoided overburdening the book with footnote references to authorities; but one acquainted with the field of American historiography can readily see his sources and interpreters peeking through at can readily see his sources and interpreters peeking through at every turn of the page. He has read widely and drawn the best, in information and viewpoint, from this wide range of study. We have long needed one with the ability to turn the research of the last decades into more pleasantly readable form for readers who have neither the time nor the inclination to dip into monographic literature.

Congratulations to Mr. Baldwin for a splendid contribution to a more appreciative understanding of our hemispheric history!

JOHN F. BANNON.

The American Spirit, by Charles A. Beard and Mary A. Beard. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1942. pp. 696. \$5.00

In this last volume of the series, The Rise of American Civilization, these eminent historians have given us a survey of the history of the United States as directed and controlled by what they call the Idea of Civilization. Apparently this is a "pattern" which, when completed, represents the American Spirit and, as defined by the authors and expressed through the written and spoken word of representatives of this country and Europe, is democratic, liberal, materialistic, Native American, and dedicated to Progress.

cated to Progress.

The plan of the book lends itself readily to strictly objective The plan of the book lends itself readily to strictly objective treatment, and, for the most part, the stage has been left entirely to the spokemen chosen. However, there are several noteworthy deviations from this practice. For example, The Syllabus of Errors, promulgated in 1864 by Pope Pius IX, was addressed to Catholics of Europe, but is introduced here (pp. 253-263; 511-533) rather irrevelevantly, as "foreign (Catholic) criticism" of our cherished progress, liberty, and civilization. It is evident also that the authors are in agreement with those who, during the past century, regarded Catholic immigrants as aliens to our Idea of Civilization and the Catholic Church as a block to progress. Finally we note in the use of the words "American", "civilization", and "liberal" a carelessness which can easily confuse and mislead the average reader.

On the whole, the book, like its predecessors in the series, is readable and stimulating, is well organized, and gives evidence of the vast amount of erudition possessed by their authors. The viewpoint, for the most part, is optimistic, but its optimism gives way so frequently to a well-founded pessimism that the general effect is somewhat depressing and disturbing.

Sr. Mary Evangela, B.V.M.

SR. MARY EVANGELA, B.V.M.

The Seven Golden Cities, by Mable Farnum. Milwaukee. The Bruce Publishing Co. 1943. pp. 225. \$2.75

If you like your frontier history done in narrative with all the trappings of research removed, here is a book you will enjoy. The author, whose work on Peter Claver was so well received, has now published a similar work on Fray Marcos de Nisa, the simple, intrepid little Franciscan who wandered over the Southwest with a braggart Moor, Estevan, in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola. Fray Marcos, as you know, was responsible for the Spaniards sending out the Coronado expedition. Hence we are in his debt for beginning the history of our Southwest. Undoubtedly that son of St. Francis was a great and good man deserving of an interesting biography.

doubtedly that son of St. Francis was a great and good man deserving of an interesting biography.

If you read this book, you will find that your interest is held. You are assured in the preface that the facts contained are authentic, since they were gathered from the writings of excellent authorities, in many cases from original material. The author submitted her manuscript to historians who are masters in the field. What is probably more to the point, is that the author has a sense of propriety and understanding. She knows Franciscans and their delightful spirit. Hence she can write of Fray Marcos as one who understands his heart. This is a good book; it deserves a wide reading public.

it deserves a wide reading public.

JOSEPH P. DONNELLY.

Rebels and Gentlemen, by Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh. New York. Reynal & Hitchcock. 1942. pp. xvii + 393. \$3.50

Most people think of colonial Philadelphia as "Franklin's city," and perhaps, unfortunately, that is about all they know of it. In that case Rebels and Geneltmen is one book they ought to read. It was written with the express purpose of examining "the transfer of the Enlightenment to Philadelphia and its fusion there with native elements to provide the beginnings of an American culture," so it becomes in effect the social history of a typical colonial city in the thirty-five years directly preceding the Declaration of Independence.

It is an interesting story, packed with data and information and replete with pleasant, even humorous sidelights on many of the leading characters of the time: the Bartrams, Shippens, Logans, Powels, Allens, Morgans, and Smiths to name only a few. There are chapters on education and the arts, on printing, medi-cine, science, literature, together with valuable notes on Quaker humanitarianism, architecture, social clubs, horticulture, cabinet-making, silversmithing and numerous other avocations that went into the making of everyday life in Penn's city on the Delaware. Interspersed throughout the narrative are bits of valuable criticism, literary and otherwise, which add thought and substance to the whole. And underneath it all runs the thread of a rising bourgeoisie.

The book is a useful contribution to colonial historiography. It is the study of a new culture in the making, a detailed investigation into the social life of what was then the second city of the British Empire. In this lies its chief value and its real contribution to historical knowledge.

Some may perhaps find the narrative a bit too quiet in tone, but such a style is to be expected in a work that has the nature and purpose of this book. Though it will not appeal to everyone, those who do read it will not consider it time misspent. One aspect of the subject has, however, however, her neglected—the fortunes and excitations of that gracial class of people however in products and aspirations of that special class of people known in modern terminology as the proletariat.

E. H. Korth

With Sherman to the Sea, The Journal of Theodore F. Upson. Edited by Oscar Osburn Winther. Louisiana State University Press. Baton Rouge. 1943. pp. xxii + 181. \$2.25

This book is a grouping together of journals, diaries, and letters of an Indiana private in the army of William T. Sherman, and it covers the period shortly before, during, and shortly after the Civil War. It is an unsophisticated account of human beings under stress of a great war, making no attempt at a false idealism or a sordid realism. It is factual and homespun. If at any time Theodore Upson was either brave or plain scared he does not

hesitate to tell us about it.

Because some of the entries are suspected of being interpolations after the war and of an apologetic nature, the book by some may not be considered as too accurate an account of the march to the sea and of other phases of Sherman's campaign in the south. It is certainly true that Upson is far from making Sherman a scapegoat, as many historians are wont to depict him. Historical value, nevertheless, is truly present in the work, for it is a splendid portrayal of army life and is valuable for historians who tend to look upon armies as brutal and unfeeling

torians who tend to look upon armies as brutal and unreeling machines. Such a portrayal may be necessary for an adequate picture of Sherman's "bummers."

Whether the reader agrees with Upson or not in many of his homely and boyish interpretations—I know I could not—he will still be glad to have read the book when he puts it aside. It is the sort of book high-school history teachers should suggest to their students to enliven their interest in what may easily be for them a dull course. This recommendation, however, should not cause the book to be stricken off the more adult realists. The professor himself can use it for stimulating his class as well as his own interest. as well as his own interest. CHARLES I. PRENDERGAST

The Growth of American Nationality, 1492-1865, by Fred W. Wellborn. New York. Macmillan. 1943.

pp. xiv + 1042. \$3.50

World War II has awakened a widespread interest in United States history. Professor Wellborn's Growth of American Nationality should do much to sustain this interest. We hope that the delegates who are chosen to represent our country in the forthcoming peace conference are well grounded in American history, lest they continue the twadition of our forefathers which has provoked the saying, nearly true, that "America never lost a war, or won a peace conference."

The book is a general text covering the period from the age of discovery to the conclusion of the Civil War. The author's style is definitely readable. Interest is heightened by lively characterizations (basically authentic) and the timely insertion of such details as the fact that Jefferson's wine bill for the first

term amounted to well over \$8,000.

In speaking of the pre-Civil War days the author says that "historians best qualified to venture an opinion commonly agree that slavery was well on the way toward peaceful extinction." This is not true; on the contrary, many capable historians have held the opposite view. Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager say: "Slavery was simply a social necessity for keeping the South 'a white man's country'. . . . Supposing the impossible, that the North had conceded everything, . . . what possible break in Southern mentality would have done away with slavery before the twentieth century?"

The many illustrations as well as an adequate bibliography and index make this a very useful book for both student and general reader.

J. J. SCHLAFLY

Confederate Mississippi, by John K. Bettersworth, Baton Rouge, La. Louisiana State University Press.

1943. pp. xi + 386. \$3.00

Confederate Mississippi is another volume to be added to the steadily increasing library of the history of the South during the Civil War. This volume is an account, extensive rather than intensive, factual rather than interpretative, of the fortunes, political, financial, social, educational, and religious, of the leading cotton state of the Deep South during wartime. Mr. Bettersworth analyzes the secession movement among the Fire-Eaters, who hoped by radical measures to better their material resources. Secession came in January, 1861, and war a few months later. A new government was set up which attempted to cope with the economic instability resulting from the separation of Mississippi from the Union. John J. Pettus was elected Governor to lead the State during the opening years of the war. His incompetence and dilatoriness was a causal factor in Southern weakness in the war effort. The citizens of the State showed their dissatisfaction in his policies by electing to the Governor-ship, Charles Clark, an advocate of "an honorable peace" with ship, Charles Clark, an advocate of "an honorable peace" with the Union. In spite of economic and social unrest, Mississippians, in true Cavalier fashion, rallied to the colors, determined to defend with their blood the honor of their civilization. As the war progressed their patriotic fervor cooled in face of mismanagement of both Confederate and State armies. Mississippians were also shaken by the claims of both Confederacy and State to their loyalty. The conflict between these two divisions of government over "state rights" contributed to the general demoralization of the Southern cause; the particularism, however, manifested by the State of Mississippi was partially justified. By 1864 dissatisfaction over the prosecution of the war. fied. By 1864 dissatisfaction over the prosecution of the war, heavy taxation, speculation, and extortion reached such a height that the general attitude of the people turned to peace and

The closing chapters of the book treat of the religious backgrounds of the time, the plight of higher education, the difficult position in which the press found itself, and finally of the cultural and literary tradition that persisted, however weakly, during the days of the war. The book contains an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary material.

ROBERT W. LAMBECH

Another Secret Diary of William Byrde of Westover, 1739-1741, edited by Maude H. Woodfin and decoded by Marion Tinling. The Dietz Press, Inc. \$5.00 More from the pen of the "American Pepys." Only he is older

and wiser now and back in Virginia with a second wife, who, gay and gentle withal, knows on occasion how to be firm. Those who found the first diary of 1709-1712 "shocking" will be relieved, edified, and one hopes, amused by the respectability of the second diary of 1739-1741. The quiet, even religious, round of the new Byrde's way, after the colorful storm and stress of his London-days is at times almost depressing.

More interesting for some will be the second part of the book, made up of some letters and literary exercises of William Byrde found in the original manuscript with the 1739-1741 diary and written in the earlier part of the century when their author was yet sowing wild oats in smart London. They are typical of the smaller society stuff of those times and richly significant of the character and idiom of the then lady and gentleman of quality.

As such they are invaluable. They are negligible literature.

To Maude H. Woodfin and Marion Tinling are due great thanks for a notable contribution to English and American G. COURTRIGHT

Main Currents in American History, by Ralph H. Gabriel. New York. D. Appleton-Century Company. 1942. pp. 200, xxxi. \$1.50

Lexington to Fallen Timbers (1775-1794), by Randolph G. Adams and Howard H. Peckham. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Press. 1942. pp. 41. \$1.00 This volume is based on a series of lectures prepared for the educational program of the Second Army that was carried out in the winter and spring of 1942, under the direction of Lieutenant General Ben Lear.

General Ben Lear.

Professor Gabriel of Yale University in his attack on the blindness of the United States' foreign policy fore-shadows Walter Lippman's contentions, which are clearly stated in his best seller *United States Foreign Policy*. Both writers boldly criticise the commitments which were made by our Government in the Pacific, 7000 miles from California, without any power to balance them, and without realizing the importance and the political setup either of the Pacific or of Asia.

set-up either of the Pacific or of Asia.

The second work is a scholarly contribution to the Revolution-The second work is a scholarly contribution to the Revolutionary period in American history. A neglected, but important phase is treated, namely the early military history of our country. In a simple, but pleasing style the authors have traced the early history of our army, from the day the Minute Men assembled on Lexington Green, April 9, 1775, to the Battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, when Major-General Wayne won over the northwestern posts which Great Britain had illegally held since 1783 illegally held since 1783.

Twenty-three original letters, the facsimiles of which are in-Twenty-three original letters, the lacsimiles of which the cluded in the book, reveal a good deal of research. Among the letters appears the infamous letter in which General Benedict Arnold offers to betray West Point to the British for 20,000 pounds.

J. J. Schlafly

MODERN HISTORY

The Origins and Background of the Second World War, by C. Grove Haines, and Ross J. S. Hoffman. New York. Oxford University Press. 1943. pp. 659. \$4.00

Professors Haines and Hoffman have undertaken the difficult, dangerous task of enumerating and evaluating the causes of the present war. They are well aware of the difficulties involved, the principal one of which they list as their proximity to the events they relate. Lack of diplomatic documents does not deter the authors, for they make no attempt to write a diplomatic history. Their purpose is "to grasp the crisis as a whole and to set it in the broad perspective of modern history."

In the first chapter the authors sketch the background of the first world war by pointing out graphically the growing strain between international relationships on the one hand and intense national selfishness on the other. In the rest of the book Haines and Hoffman outline the organization for world peace contained in the treaties of Paris, the subsequent failure of that organization, the gradual deterioration of security and the return to inter-Professors Haines and Hoffman have undertaken the difficult,

tion, the gradual deterioration of security and the return to international anarchy culminating in the present war. Throughout the book these points seem to be given chief stress: 1) the isolationism of the United States and its contribution to international tionism of the United States and its contribution to international anarchy; 2) the moral and physical exhaustion of a Great Britain that was forced to carry on without the support of this country; 3) The desperate plight of a France deserted by an appeasing Great Britain and an ostrich United States; 4) the unbroken continuity of Germany's pugnaciousness, even under the Weimar Republic; 5) the unofficial collaboration of the dissatisfied powers to undermine international security, a collaboration which grew into planned team-work with the formation of the

Axis.

The authors do well in showing that the present struggle is not solely the result of political intrigue, that it is part of a world crisis which was not resolved after the first world war. But the stamp of 1943 is clearly on every page. The review would the stamp of the Weimer the stamp of 1943 is clearly on every page. The reviewer would particularly question the unsympathetic treatment of the Weimar Republic, the almost blanket approval of France's steps between the wars and the failure to fix a larger share of the blame for international anarchy on the troublesome, intriguing smaller

states of Europe.

Only time can tell how accurate the author's evaluations are. Their work is valuable today, however, in bringing together the threads of international discord-moral, religious, cultural and intellectual threads as well as political and economic. It does enable the student of "contemporary history" to understand this war in its historical setting. The Catholic student should be particularly grateful to the authors for their innovation of including many so-called "Catholic" books in the bibliographies at the end of each chapter.

Thomas P. Neill. Only time can tell how accurate the author's evaluations are.

Inter-American Affairs, 1942, edited by Arthur P. Whitaker. New York. Columbia University Press. 1943. pp. 252. \$3.00

This is the second Annual Survey of the field of Inter-American affairs and is just as welcome as its predecessor and, it must be added, quite as valuable. This reviewer knows that he is one with all students of the subject in expressing the hope that "wartime conditions" will not interrupt so splendid an enterprise—the editor's prudent proviso on this matter in his Foreward is well taken, however.

Annual Survey: No. 2 follows the same general lines of last year's volume and touches the subjects of politics and diplomacy, matters economic, culture, and social, and contains a most interesting sketch of the progress of the Inter-American Health and Sanitation Program. And again, as last year, the editor concludes the volume with a few very splendid pages entitled "Summary and Prospect." Again, the references, both in footnotes and in the formal list, put the reader in touch with the most significant works and articles of the year. The appendices literally bulge with statistical, chronological, and other useful information.

The articles are carefully prepared. Very much is said in short compass. In general there is a fine reserve in the interpretation of movements and events which are not always viewed with universal favor in the United States — the cautious analysis of the Mexican phenomenon of Sinarquismo is a case in point, though this reviewer does not quite agree with the conclusions. As mentioned last year, every library whose students or patrons are interested in Inter-American affairs (Canada is given full notice and deserved space) should begin to add this annual series to its shelves.

John F. Bannon.

The Story of Weapons and Tactics from Troy to Stalingrad, by Tom Wintringham. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. pp. 230. \$2.25

In the words of the author, "This book has only one aim; that we should understand warfare and therefore win this war." He makes no attempt at a complete history of weapons and tactics but merely treats of those changes which have a bearing on the present. His fundamental thesis, one that is obvious to any historian, is that the victorious army has been the army with the best equipment and the most modern weapons. For this reason the author introduces chapters on Alexander, the armoured knight, the yeomen, Castle and Gunpowder, and Napoleon. Not that he believes that there is an essential feature to all warfare that does not change, but that tactics change with changing weapons and "the lines on which they are changing parallel the lines of past change and should be to some extent predictable." The pattern of war in the future will be a highly mobile one in which armoured units, air power and infantry work together in coordinated forces. Together with this professedly military action there will be the Peoples' War. This is a pattern of warfare which links an armed population with an offensive striking force. Although it will have all the paraphernalia of mechanised war, its chief weapons will be tommy-guns, raw explosives for mines and grenades, machine rifles, and the like. These guerilla forces will make it possible for a relatively small striking force to defeat much more powerful armies.

The story told by the author is interesting and it is presented in a style which sustains the reader's attention, although it is doubtful whether the methods he proposes constitute any real contribution to modern warfare.

Francis X. Nawn.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SOCIOLOGY

The Third Term Tradition, by Charles W. Stein. New York. Columbia University Press. 1943. pp. xvi, 382. \$3.75

The title of this monograph is the "Third Term Tradition", but the subject matter is an extended, well documented treatment of the anti-third-term tradition in American politics. The tradition is traced carefully from its first discussion in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 to its final rupture in the Presidential election that placed Franklin Roosevelt in the White House for the first consecutive third term in our history. In that time, there were not more than a half dozen presidents who really had a fair chance to break the tradition, and each receives an adaquate and interesting treatment, which may es-

specially appeal to present day citizens not too familiar with the inside of national politics. The chapter on the man who finally exploded the "unwritten law" dictum, is briefer than its predecessors, because of lack of first rate sources. It is weaker also, because of the inherent difficulty of seeing our own day in a true prospective. History may prove that the author's conclusions, summarized in the last chapter, are of the "alarmist" nature, but again they may prove to be as sound as all the arguments against the third term can make them. Certainly, no one will fail to be disillusioned who believed, before reading this readable account, that the once sacred tradition was never assailed before. And since the colt has been broken, the question now arises: how many terms will a president take? The present fear, represented by Mr. Stein, is that there is a dangerous centralization of power taking place almost imperceptibly, cloaked with the garb of deliberately created circumstances, in the chief executive, which may easily blossom out in a dictatorship not unlike those against which the United States are struggling abroad.

American Government, by John McMahon. New York. D. Appleton-Century Co. 1943. pp. x + 191. \$1.50

American Government, one of the Student Manuals prepared under the auspices of Catholic University's Commission on American Citizenship, is a book which does its work well. It presents in succinct, yet adequate, outline the structure and function of American national and state government. The Constitution, the Federal system, executive and administrative departments, judiciary, legislative procedure, foreign affairs, the government in business, labor and agriculture: all these and much more are here. The reviewer could find but few oversights, and even those of minor importance.

The collation of each chapter with ten standard works on American government in addition to the specialized bibliographies, enhances the usefulness of a book which will be of great value to teacher and student alike—an excellent organization and synthesis of the vast material on a highly complicated but highly important subject.

J. C. McKenna

Jewish Pioneers and Patriots, by Lee M. Friedman. New York. Macmillan. 1943. pp. 430. \$2.50

The material gathered in this book should not, I believe, have been put under such a promising title. The author was well aware and intended that "the trivial and the serious" should be presented, but the result is a much less effective and interesting book than for example Samuel Walker McCall's "Patriotism of the American Jew."

In behalf of the book I would commend the author's style and the historical research involved. He does present well a diversified picture of Jewish participation in the life of early America. Yet the best parts of the book, the chapter on American soldiers and the treatment of the clothing industry in the chapter on Jews in the economic life of America, were not sufficiently developed.

The author's fundamental mistake was his lack of discretion in placing undue emphasis on merely unusual characters and isolated instances. It would be better to acquaint the Gentile reader with the group, with the Jewish communities. When I had finished reading Mr. Friedman's book I thought the story of Jewish pioneers and patriots has not begun to be told. A future writer may find it hidden in the poverty and drabness of Jewish immigrant masses.

ROBERT D. LIPPERT

Economic Aspects of Industrial Decentralization (Aquin Papers: No. 8), by Franz H. Mueller. St. Paul. College of St. Thomas. 1942. pp. 92. \$0.25

Dr. Mueller has added to his excellent brochure on Fr. Pesch's doctrine of Solidarism (published as Aquin Papers: No. 7) another valuable work of economic study. Although he acknowledges the social, religious and cultural implications of industrial centralization and decentralization, the author professedly examines those theories in the light of economic principles. He supplements his own searching treatment with copious citations from and references to leading economists from both sides of the Atlantic. The bibliography and detailed table of contents greatly enhance the value of the text itself.

JOSEPH B. SCHUYLER